Fanatical Moderation

OR,

Unparalell'd Villany

DISPLAY'D.

BEING

A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE of the Barbarous Murther committed upon the most Reverend Father in God, Dr. *James Sharpe*, Lord Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, by the *Scotch Presbyterians*, *May* the 3*d* 1679.

WITH

The Account at large, of an Attempt upon his Life *Anno* 1668. by one MITCHEL, a *Presbyterian* Minister, for which he was Hang'd, *Anno* 1674. Interspers'd with several Original Papers, fully Demonstrating the Designs of the *Fanatick Party* in that Kingdom and elsewhere, to be directly intended for the Subversion both of

Church and *State*.

LONDON:

Printed for *E. Curll* at the *Dial* and *Bible* against St. *Dunstan's* Church, and *R. Gosling* at the *Mitre* near the *Inner-Temple-Gate*, *Fleet-street*. 1711. Price 2 *d*.

A DISSERTATION

SIR,

THE Subject of this Letter is a faithful Narrative of the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of one of our *Presbyterian Preachers*, who made an Attempt on the Sacred Person of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, in the Month of *July*, 1668. The Story is very Comprehensive, and will invite me to speak of many particular Things and Persons, and it will be Difficult for me to pass through it all, without touching a little upon Publick Affairs; in doing of which, I shall endeavour to perform the Part of a faithful Historian, in writing nothing but matter of Fact.

I have already fix'd the Beginning of this Story in the Month of *July*, 1668. But the execrable Wretch resolv'd to do the Fact two Years before, and Languish'd all the Time for want of an Opportunity to Execute his Inhuman Design. At last, having observ'd, that the Lord Primate us'd always to go about this Town in his Coach, he resolv'd to Pistol him in it; and accordingly, on *Saturday* of the aforesaid Month, discharged a Pistol, loaden with three Bullets, at him; which were intercepted by the Arm of the Lord Bishop of *Orkney*, who at the same instant was getting into his *Grace*'s Coach: As soon as he had Shot, he walked fast away; and as he cross'd the Street, the Primate got a view of his Face. He was not immediately pursu'd, which gave him Opportunity to Escape into the House of one *Ferguson*, an ejected Minister; which being in an obscure Place of the Town, he had prepar'd for a Retreat, in Case he could get safe thither.

There, having disguised himself by putting on a Perriwig, and changing his Cloaths; he immediately went into the Street again; and made as great a bustle as any in the Throng, to find out the *Assassin*, who had Shot at the Primate; and, as he hop'd, had Kill'd him in his Coach. He was known by none in the Crowd, but by three of his Confederates, who had come to Town on purpose to Assist him in his bloody Design.

Their Designations, or Titles, were *Barscob*, *Mandroget*, and Major *Lermouth*, who had been Ring-leaders in the

Rebellion at *Pentland-Hills*, in the Year 1668. the *Aſſaſſin* joyn'd himſelf with theſe three; and after a Conſultation, what they ſhould do for their further Security, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to retire into the Garden of Sir *Archibald Primroſe*, the Lord Chief Juſtice, who had for many Years the Misfortune to be eſteem'd a Favourer of the *Fanatical* Faction; tho' it be hard to imagine, how a Man, that hath gotten ſo great an Eſtate by the King's Royal Bounty, ſhould have ſo much Favour for the worſt of his Subjects, unleſs he hath loſt all Senſe of Gratitude and Honour.

Certain it is, That there are ſuch Monſters of Diſloyalty, and Ingratitude in the World; and as certain it is, (tho' he be not one of them) that the Credit he hath with that Party, encouraged this Murtival of Rebels and Murderers, to ſhelter themſelves the following Night within his Precincts, rather than any other Man's in this Populous Town. But the Morning approaching, they thought it ſafer to quit the Town; and the other three conducting Mr. *James Mitchel*, (for that's the Name of this abominable Man) he made a final Eſcape by their Aſſiſtance, and was never after ſeen in this Country, till the latter End of 1683. In this Interval betwixt *July*, 68. and the latter End of 73. he had Rambled through *Holland*, *England* and *Ireland*; from whence he return'd to his Countrey, reſolv'd (as it ſeems) to Aſſaſſin the Primate again. Not long after his Return, he Married, and repair'd with his Wife to *Edinburgh*; preſuming, that after more than five Years Abſence, he might live *incognito* here, at leaſt ſo long, till he could find another Opportunity to Execute his bloody Deſign. In order to which, he hir'd a Shop within a Door or two of the *Primate's* Lodgings, where his Wife pretended to ſell Tobacco and Brandy, and ſuch like things.

But he had not long frequented there, before he was diſcover'd, and Apprehended upon Suſpicion; and when he was taken (which was on the ſame Day of the Week, and in the ſame Place, where he had formerly ſtood to commit the Fact) there were two Piſtols found about him, in Size and Shape, like that which the Primate ſaw him hold in his Hand, immediately after he had ſhot at his *Grace*; and upon ſearch, they were alſo found to be charg'd with three Bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir *William Sharp*, he was immediately brought to his Brother the Primate's Lodgings; and though a great Crowd had preſſed in after him, yet his *Grace* knew him at firſt ſight from all the reſt, (ſuch a deep impreſſion the tranſient View he got of him, after the Shot, had made upon him) and going ſtrait up to

him,

him, without any Hesitation, he said unto him, *You, Sir, are the Man*; upon which the Wretch trembled, and grew Pale.

Not long after, he was Conven'd before the Privy Council, and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, his Majesty's High Commissioner then sitting in Council, but he would confess nothing before them; which made the Right Honourable *Board* depute a Committee for his farther Examination; Before which he freely confess'd the Fact, and afterwards acknowledged and sign'd his Confession before the King's High Commissioner sitting in Council, with the Lord *Halton* the Treasurer Depute, the Earl of *Rothes* Lord Chancellor, and some other of the Council Subscrib'd as Witnesses; and this Paper was brought at his Tryal against him as a *judicial* Confession of his Crime.

After this Examination of him before his Majesty's High Commissioner sitting in Council (which happened in *February* 1674) he was put upon his Tryal in the Criminal Court. But after his *Indictment* was read, he deny'd it, and retracted the Confession, which he had freely made without any promise of Pardon before the High Commissioner, and the Council; upon which Sir *John Nisbet*, his Majesty's *Advocate* (who, notwithstanding his fair Pretensions to the Church, either Loves or Fears the *Fanatical Faction* too much) seem'd very much surpriz'd, and desisted immediately from his Prosecution, desiring the Judges to Adjourn the Court; and from that time would never pursue the Murderous Villain again, although he was oblig'd by his Office to do it, as well as by the Archbishop; who *in Causa Sanguinis* would not pursue him himself. The Judges also at that time had no great Stomach to sit upon the Tryal of this bloody Saint: So that the Privy-Council were forced to send him Prisoner to the *Basse* (a Rock in the *Forth*) where he continued till the latter End of *December*, when the Privy-Council sent for him to be Try'd again.

About this Time it was rumour'd about Town and Country, that the *Whigs* (for so we call *Fanaticks*) design'd to take off both the Archbishops, and some other Bishops by Assassination; and likewise vehement Suspicions and Presumptions were found, that they had the like Design on other eminent Persons, who were most concern'd, and resolv'd to see them reduc'd to Order and Obedience. And therefore the Council thought it expedient, to prevent such barbarous Attempts, and secure the Lives of his Majesty's faithful *Ministers*, to bring Mr. *Mitchel* to publick Justice, that the

Remonſtrator-Presbyterians of our Country might ſee, what their *Clements* and *Ravillacs* were to expect.

Since the Duke of *Lauderdale* came laſt hither, Sir *John Nisbet* reſign'd his Charge, and his Majeſty put Sir *George Mackenzy*, a Learned and Worthy Gentlemen into his Place; who in Obedience to the Order of the Privy-Council, purſu'd this common Enemy of Mankind, with a Courage and Zeal, that became ſuch a gallant Man, and a good Chriſtian, although he foreſaw, he muſt for ever diſoblige that implacable Party, which hath ſworn to extirpate Epiſcopacy here.

You may eaſily judge with what Deliberation and Caution this Miſcreant's Proceſs was made; ſeeing his Tryal was dependant four Days: For he was Arraign'd on *Monday* the Seventh of *January* in the Morning, and receiv'd not Sentence till the following *Thurſday* at Two in the Afternoon. As the Privy Council were very Juſt, ſo were they exceeding Merciful to this inhuman Man: For at the inſtance of his Majeſty's Advocate, they commanded Sir *George Lockhart*, one of the beſt Lawyers of this Nation, to be of his Council; and had he been the greateſt Subject of the three Kingdoms, his Cauſe could not have been more ſtrenuouſly defended, nor his Proceſs made with more Care.

The firſt Day was ſpent in reading the *Indictment*, and diſcuſſing ſome preparatory Doubts, neceſſary to be determin'd by an *Interlocutory* Sentence, before the *Jury* could be Impannell'd, and the Witneſſes Sworn. The Doubts were three: *Firſt*, Whether that Confeſſion, which the Priſoner made before the King's High Commiſſioner, and the Privy-Council ſitting in Council, were *Judicial* or *Extrajudicial*? The *Second* was, Whether if this Confeſſion ſhould be made appear to be upon hopes or promiſe of Pardon, it ſhould not ſerve for the Priſoner's Exculpation? And the *Third* was, Whether by a certain Act of Parliament made for the Security of his Majeſty's Privy Counſellors and Officers, the attempted Aſſaſſinage of the Primate, who was a Privy-Counſellor, were Capital, or no? All which Preliminaries, the Judges deliberated upon, and Debated among themſelves on *Tueſday*, and on *Wedneſday* following pronounced their Interlocutory Sentence in the Affirmative upon the ſeveral Heads.

After the Sentence was pronounc'd, the Jury was Impannell'd, and the Witneſſes Sworn; ſome of whoſe Depoſitions I ſhall ſet down as I heard them.

The Keeper of the * *Tolbooth*'s Son Depon'd, That having ask'd the Priſoner, how he could do ſuch a Barbarous Action

* The *Priſon.* in

in cold Blood, againſt a Man that had never done him wrong? He Anſwer'd, That it was not done in cold Blood; for the Blood of the Saints was reaking yet at the *Croſs* in *Edinburgh*. By the *Saints* he meant the *Rebels* at *Pentland-Hills* in 1666. One of which he himſelf had been; and ſome Principals whereof, that were taken in the Field, had been Executed about two Years before at the *Croſs* in *Edinburgh*.

The Lord Biſhop of *Galloway* (whom no good Churchman here ought to mention without Honour and Reſpect) having firſt aſſerted the Privilege that is granted to Biſhops, to have their Depoſitions taken at home, according to the Civil and Canon-Law; and proteſted that his Obedience to the Court ſhould be no prejudice to that Privilege; Depon'd, That having ask'd the Priſoner, What mov'd him to make ſuch a Bloody Attempt on an Innocent Man? He Anſwer'd, That he did it, becauſe he apprehended him to be an Enemy to the People of God.

The Lord *Halton* Depoſed, That having ask'd him, how he durſt be ſo wicked, as to do ſuch an execrable Fact? He anſwer'd, That he did it, becauſe the Archbiſhop was an Enemy to the Godly People of the *Weſt*.

Furthermore, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Halton*, teſtify'd upon Oath, That he own'd the Confeſſion produc'd in Court before the Privy Council, and acknowledged their Names, which were Subſcrib'd under it, and the Priſoner could not deny his.

Theſe Depoſitions being taken, there was no way left to ſave the Priſoner, but by making it appear, that he had made this Confeſſion upon Promiſe, or Hopes of Pardon; and therefore his Advocates deſir'd, that the Lord Chancellor might be call'd to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confeſs upon Promiſe, or Oath, to endeavonr to ſecure Life and Limb, as he alledg'd his Lordſhip did. But he declar'd upon the Oath he had taken, that he never made any ſuch Promiſe or Oath unto him: And the Duke of *Lauderdale* and the Lord *Halton* being alſo call'd to Depone upon that particular, Teſtify'd, That they never knew, that the Lord Chancellor, or any other, had encourag'd him to make that Confeſſion upon Hopes or Promiſe of Pardon; which if it could have been legally prov'd, he muſt have been Abſolv'd.

The impudent Villain likewiſe deſir'd the Judges, that the Primate himſelf might be cited into the Court, to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confeſs upon a Promiſe to endeavour to procure his Pardon; to which being Sworn, he anſwer'd, That immediately after his

Appre-

Apprehenſion, he took him aſide to Diſcourſe with him in Private, where he did aſſure him he forgave him, and would endeavour to ſave him from publick Juſtice, if he would confeſs the Fact; but that upon this Encouragement, he would make no Confeſſion, nor ever after offer'd any to him; ſo that tho' he ſtill forgave him, yet he did not conceive himſelf bound to endeavour his Preſervation after more than five Years Obſtination in his Crime.

There were many other Witneſſes ready to Depone, of which there was no need. One of them could have teſtify'd, That he heard him ſay, that he would do the Fact, if it were to be done again: And another could have Depon'd, that he heard him ſay, Let me but Shoot at him again, and I'll be content to be Hang'd if I miſs. The *Jury*, which conſiſted of Fifteen Gentlemen, unanimouſly found him Guilty; and when Sentence was pronounc'd, That he ſhould be carried to the common Place of Execution, and there be Hang'd, he told the Judges, that he took it as from GOD, but not from them.

Since he was Condemn'd, he deſir'd that ſome Conventicle Miniſters that were Impriſon'd with him, might be admitted to give him Comfort, and obſtinately refuſed the Aſſiſtance of the Miniſters of our Church. However, one of them went to him to remind him of the Murder he was Guilty of in the Eyes of God, tho' he ſuffer'd him not to effectuate his Deſign. But inſtead of making any impreſſion on his hardned Heart, or receiving common acknowledgments for his good Will, he received nothing from him but Reproaches, being told by him that he was a Murderer of Souls, and had the Blood of Souls to anſwer for, with many more Rude and Enthuſiaſtick Expreſſions.

He was a lean hollow-cheek'd Man, of a turbulent Countenance, and had the Air of an *Aſſaſſin* as much as a Man could have. He came with his Perriwig Powder'd to the Bar, and behav'd himſelf there, with as much Aſſurance as Men devoted to do Miſchief by their Principles and Complexion, reſolve beforehand always to do.

As for his Original, 'tis ſo obſcure, that the mean Proletarian Condition of his Parents affords me no Notice of his Birth. And for his Education, after he had paſſed through the ſubſidiary part of Learning, he was ſent to the *College* of *Edinburgh* in the time of the late Uſurpation; where he made very ſmall progreſs in any part of good Literature, but apply'd himſelf to the reading of ſuch ſilly *Fanatical* Books, as were fit for his narrow Capacity and Enthuſiaſtical Temper; ſo that the acquir'd, or artificial Part of *Fanati-*

ssm (which *Whigs* call Grace) being added to his Nature, he might qualifie himself for Employment and Reputation, especially among the *Remonstrator Presbyterians*, who were then the principal Part of the *Kirk*. This Faction, especially in the *West*, was advanc'd so far towards Enthusiasm, that they despised and suspected Men of Learning and Sense, and began to look upon it as a slinting of the Spirit, to spend any Study or Time in preparing themselves to Preach. The People especially were so possessed with this Opinion, that if they came to know, that their Ministers Premeditate, much more Penn'd their Sermons in their Studies, they thought it a sufficient ground of with-drawing from them; as believing it utterly impossible, to receive any Spiritual Benefit from such carnal Sermons, as were Compos'd by the help of Study and Books.

Among these People it was, that *Mitchel* design'd to Preach and Pray, and therefore after he was graduated Master (which is here at the End of four Years) he apply'd himself to the Study of Popular Divinity under Mr. *David Dickson*, a great Apostle of the Solemn League and Covenant; under whom he continued his Method of Reading Modern *Fanatical* Pamphlets, that he might be an able Workman, and compleatly furnish'd with all those *Canting* Affected Phrases, which discriminate a Spiritual from a Carnal Preacher among the *Presbyterians*; And are Musick and Charms to their Enthusiastical Ears. And that he might add the Practical to the Speculative part of *Fanaticism*, and be perfectly Master of his Trade, he frequented those private Meetings, where Conferences, Prayers and Sermons were spoken in that Dialect, and where Tone, Grimace, and Gesticulations, are far more Powerful than all the true Learning and Eloquence in the World.

Having acted long time in these Nurseries of Enthusiasm, he thought himself fit for any Ecclesiastical Employment; and therefore offer'd himself to be Try'd by the *Presbytery of Dalkeith*, who rejected him for Insufficiency, as some yet alive can Testifie to the *World*.

After this Repulse, he began to Project some other way of Living; and was shortly after Recommended to the *Laird of Dundas*, to be Pedagogue to his Children, and Domestick Chaplain for saying *extemporary* Prayers. He passed some time in this Family for a Gifted and very Holy Young Man; till some of the Servants observed an extraordinary Familiarity betwixt him and a Young Woman, who was the Old Gardiner's Wife. Being possess'd with this Suspicion, they observ'd him the more; and one Night as they were

watch-

watching, they saw his *Mistress* go to his Chamber, which was a Summer-house built on the Garden-wall. The Key, as it happen'd, was left on the out-side of the Door, which one of those that watched observing, gently lock'd the Door upon them, and immediately ran to call his Master, who came to the Garden to see what would be the Event. After they had been as long as they pleas'd together, at last *Hortensia* comes to go out; who to her great Confusion finding the Door lock'd, steps back to the *Adulterer*; who, fearing that she should be taken with him, immediately let her down the Garden-wall, by the help of his Shirt, she hanging at one end, and he holding the other as naked as when he was Born. His Patron all this while beheld him like a filthy **Priapus** upon the Garden-wall, and the next Day in great Indignation discharged him of his Service and House. I suppose this is one of his particular and private Sins, which you'll find him hereafter confessing in his Speech, deserved a worse Death than he endured.

Afterwards he came to *Edinburgh*, where he liv'd some Years in a Widow's House, call'd Mrs. *Grissald Whitford*, who dwelt in the *Cow-gate*; and with whom that Dishonour of Mankind, Major *Weir* was Boarded at the same time. By his Conversation, it may be presumed, that *Mitchel* improved much in the Art of Hypocrisie, and Drank in more deeply, those Murderous and Treasonable Principles, which he afterwards practised in the whole Course of his Life, and justified at his Death. Now began he to Converse with the most Bigot Zealots against Authority, to frequent and hold Conventicles to Preach up the Covenant, and to the utmost of his Power to promote the Schism, which was begun in the Church. By these Practices, he much endear'd himself to his Tutor Major *Weir*, who recommended him for a Chaplain to a *Fanatical* Family, the Lady whereof was Niece to Sir *Archibald Johnston* Laird of *Wareston*, one of the most furious Rebels against the late Blessed *KING*, and greatest Compliers with the late Usurpation in the Three Kingdoms; and whom you may remember to have been *President of the Committee of Safety*: For all which accumulated Treasons he was Executed here in 1663.

During his Abode in this Family, broke out the Rebellion of the *Fanaticks* in 1666. He no sooner heard of it, but joyned with the Rebels, who were defeated at *Pentland-hills*: Though Mr. *Welsh* (as it is reported) during the Fight, prayed with up-lifted Hands to the Lord of Hosts against *Amalek* (as his Spirit moved him to Mis-call the Royal Forces) and had his Hands stayed up by some of his

his Brethren, as *Moſes* had his by *Aaron* and *Hur*. Mr. *Mitchel* had the Fortune to Eſcape from the Field, but was afterwards Proclaimed Traytor, with many other Principal Actors in the Rebellion; and afterwards excepted by Name in his Majeſty's Gracious Proclamation of Pardon, that he might receive no Benefit thereby. From this time he skulk'd about, and ſhelter'd himſelf among the Rebellious Saints of the Brotherhood, till the Devil tempted him to *Aſſaſſin* the Lord *Primate*, for which he hath Expiated by his Blood.

Among others of his Excellent Qualifications, I have told you what an utter *Ignoramus* he was: And I cannot forbear to tell you farther, that *Welſh* and *Arnot*, and all the reſt of them are full as Illiterate as he; and that their inſuperable Ignorance in Divine and Humane Learning, is the Mother of their Murdering Zeal. Indeed all the late Troubles upon the Account of *Epiſcopacy*, are chiefly to be aſcribed to the ſhameful Ignorance of *Proteſtant* Divines in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity; who looking no farther back into the Hiſtory of Religion, than the time of the *Reformation*, and ſome of them not ſo far, did either hate Epiſcopacy as an Uſurpation, or elſe looked upon it as a meer Human Conſtitution; and ſo could not have that particular Veneration for it, that was due to an Apoſtolical Ordinance, ſo viſibly founded in the Scriptures, and which was the ſole invariable Government of GOD's Univerſal Church for above 1500 Years.

Of this, that excellent Man, Mr. *Henderſon* was a deplorable Example; who tho' he was a Man of great Temper and Prudence, and very Learned in his way; yet want of Antiquity, of which he was ignorant, was the unhappy Cauſe, why he engaged for the *Covenant* againſt the King and the Church. Had he ſpent but half ſo many Hours in that, he had never moved ſo excentrically to the Church, nor done thoſe things, for which he expiated with Tears before his late Bleſſed Majeſty at *Newcaſtle*; afterwards ſpending the ſhort Remainder of his Life, in a ſorrowful Penitential Retirement; for which he grew ſuſpected by his Brethren of the Covenant, who called him Apoſtate from the Cauſe. There are many Perſons yet alive, who can Teſtifie this to be true; which may Teach all Divines, how dangerous it is for them to Live in Ignorance of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, which is ſo eaſily acquir'd, and ſo uſeful to be known. That comprehenſive Genius, Mr. *Calvin*, wanted nothing but this to make him as Orthodox, and Conſummate a Divine, as ever was in the Church of GOD: For had he been but

half as well verſed in the more Primitive Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as he was in St. *Auguſtine*, he had never Coin'd the Notion of a Lay-Elder, defended the *Horrible Decree*, or been expoſed for ſo many Abſurdities by meek * *Caſſander's* Pen.

But to Conclude this Digreſſion with Mr. *Henderſon*, there were very few, among our Covenanting-Miniſters, Comparable to him for Prudence and Learning; and yet even the lower moſt Form of our former *Presbyterians* were great Men in compariſon to theſe of the *Remonſtrator Faction*, who are all burning Zeal, but no Knowledge; as you will perceive, not only by the Sequel of this Story, but this Letter of an ignorant Miniſter, that lately Revolted from our Church.

SIR,

I *Received your Letter of the* 14*th of* July, *wherein you ſay, That on the firſt* Wedneſday *of* Auguſt, *you are to have a Presbytery, (you ought to have term'd it a Meeting of the Exercise) and on the ſecond* Wedneſday *of* Auguſt, *a Provincial Meeting with your Biſhop of* Rotheſay. *And once for all I deſire you may take this for an abſolute Anſwer.* Firſt, *That* GOD *hath for a long time been dealing with my Conſcience, but eſpecially ſince* October *laſt, when I was called to* Mul *for Electing Mr.* Andrew Wood, *Biſhop (I confeſs his want of the* Iriſh *Language did ſtick with me, beſides many other things as well now as before, about the Election of Mr.* James Ramſey; *and all of you, ſave one, did then profeſs, that they did ſtick with you alſo, though now you have ſwallowed down that Pill with many more) and that in ſuch an extraordiary dreadful, and terrible Manner, for my engaging to Prelacy, and a Lordly Government over the Church of Chriſt (contrary to which there lie ſo many Ties, and Obligations on this Land) that, with the Grace of God, I would not adventure to abide the Terror of the Lord for all the Stipends and Preferments in* Europe. *And truly the worſt I wiſh to you, or any Prelate in* Britain *or* Ireland, *or their Adherents, is, That they may have as ſound a ſouking with their Conſciences, as I have had; if they be not incorrigible Enemies of Chriſt.* Next, *Upon ſerious ſearch of the Word of* GOD, *and of* Antiquity, *I am the more confirmed in my Reſolution.* Blondellus, Salmatius, Gerſon, Bucer, *yea the whole current of Primitive Fathers, eſpecially* Smectymnuus, *have vindicated Presbytery againſt the whole*

* *In defenſ. lib. de Offic. Pii viri.*

World.

World, I want not many more faithful Reasons to add, only I suppose I could never be satisfied in them, and therefore I forbear.

To Conclude, I do here before GOD, and the whole World profess my disowning of Lordly Prelacy, as it is now Established in our Land, which I was once most fully engaged into; and my firm and resolute Adherence to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of Scotland, as it was professed in this Nation, from the Year of our Lord 205. and downward for the space of 230 Years, and then since the Year 1580, till the Year 1610. and then from the Year 1638, till the Year 1661. and from thence downwards by many Godly in these three Lands, till this very Day it; and more particularly to the Point, that Government of Christ's Church by an Equality and Parity of Pastors and Ministers, all of them with one Shoulder carrying on the Work of the Lord, and exercising the Keys of Order and Jurisdiction, Doctrine and Discipline in Communi, *according to due Order, and feeding the Flock of GOD; not as being Lords of GOD's Heritage, but Ensamples to the Flock: Yea, I do here (with all the Lord's faithful Servants and Witnesses in these three Lands, both in the present, and some former Generations, and with all the Lords Witnessing, and Suffering Servants and People, that have been, or now are in this Land, or present Generation) confess and bear my Witness and Testimony, the Cause of God, and the Work of Reformation, so much as was attained thereof, how afflicted and born down soever, and to the Confessions of Faith of the Church of Scotland, and of the three Kingdoms, and to National, and trinational Covenant; and that I do rather choose to suffer Affliction with the poor suffering People of GOD, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproaches for Christ greater Riches than all the Pleasures and Preferments in the World. I desire you, with your Brethren, to consider those Scriptures, and take them home to you;* Isa. 66. 5. Zach. 11. 5. John 16. 2, 3. John 9. 1, 10. *Remember your worthy Bedfellow, that is this Day, I hope, in Glory, shall bear Witness against you. Farewel for ever, Lordly Prelacy, for I had never a joyful Hour since I engaged therein: and welcome, welcome my dear Lord Jesus Christ, I Embrace thee with the Arms of my Soul, and thy Cross; I profess this, confess thee bearing my Testimony to thee, and thy persecuted Truth: and by thy Blood, and the Word of thy Testimony, and not loving my Life unto the Death, I hope to overcome.*

Cambre-Mill, August 6, 1677.

S.r Subscribe, *Alex. Symer*, Minister of the Gospel at *Cambre*.

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Unless you are vers'd in our Historian *Buchanan*, you will wonder, why this Learned Antiquarian should assert, That the Government of our Church was *Presbyterian* from the first Plantation of the Gospel in 205, or rather 203, till the Arrival of *Palladius* in the middle of the Fifth Century. You must know therefore, That all the Authority our *Presbyterians* have for this Assertion, is from *Buchanan*, that furious Enemy of Bishops; who in the Fifth Book of his History, writes, that the Church in the aforesaid time was not Govern'd by Bishops, but by the Monks or *Culdees*; which, were it true, as it is false, would prove, that the Government of the Church in that Interval, was not *Presbyterian*, but perfectly *Lascal*, seeing it was long after that time, that Monks were admitted among the Clergy; and permitted to meddle with Church Affairs. But you may find a larger Confutation of this groundless Assertion of *Buchanan*, in Archbishop *Spotswood's* History.

But to continue my Narrative of Mr. *Mitchel*, I proceed to acquaint you with other memorable Things, that happened between his Condemnation and Execution, which was on *Friday* the 18th of *January*, in the Grass-Market, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Some time before the Execution, the Reverend Mr. *Annand*, Dean of *Edinburgh*, not discourag'd with the unthankful Returns one of his Brethren had receiv'd from the Malefactor before, out of his tender Compassion to his Soul, wrote him a very affectionate and pious Letter, wherein he endeavour'd to shew him from the Gospel, how contrary his Principles and Practices were to the Doctrine of Christianity; and Exhorted him to Repentance for that Un-christian Attempt, by which he design'd to take away the Life of one Sacred Person, and grievously wounded another, &c. To all which, he returned this Answer.

SIR,

I Received yours, and since my time is very short, and so very precious, I can only thank you for your Civility and Affection, whether real or pretended; and I tell you, I truly close with all the Precepts of the Gospel to Love and Peace; and therefore pray I both for Mr. Sharp, and you. But knowing both Mr. Sharp's Wickedness, and my own Sincerity; and the Lord's Holy Sovereignty, to use his Creatures as he pleases; I can only refer the Manifestation of my Fact, to the Day of GOD's Righteous and Universal Judgment; praying heartily, that GOD may

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have Mercy on you, and open your Eyes to see both the Wickedness of all your Ways, and of your godless insulting over an unjustly condemned dying Man, and grant unto you Repentance and Remission of your Sins. I am in this your Well-wisher,

James Mitchel.

The Dean in his Letter, urged an excellent Argument to Convince him, That the Impulse, which was upon him so many Years to *Assassin* the *Primate*, could not come from GOD, like the Impulse of *Phineas*, and the *Zealots*: because he fail'd in the Attempt; which never any Person did, or could do, that was moved by GOD to do an *Heroick* Act. But, you see, the blind *Pseudo-Zealot* takes no notice of this Argument in his Answer; wherein to shew what an implacable Enemy he was to the Office, as well as the Person of the Archbishop, he mentions his *Grace* not by his Character, but by his Name.

Having been told in the Prison, That he would not be permitted to speak to the People before his Execution, he transcribed several Copies of his intended Speech, whereof one was found in his Pocket, and taken from him before he was carried out to Execution. It is long, and the former Part containing nothing but Libellous Reflections on the Privy-Council, the Judges, and the King's Advocate: I shall content my self to send you a Transcript of the latter.

I *Acknowledge my particular and private Sins have been such, as have Merited a worse Death unto me; but I Die in the Hope of the Merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from those eternal Punishments due to me for Sin. Yet I am confident, that* GOD *doth not plead with me in this Place, for my private and particular Sins; but that I am brought here, that the Work of* GOD *might be made Manifest; and for the Tryal of Faith,* John 9. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 7. *And that I may be a Witness for his despised Truth, and Interest in this Land, who am called to Seal the same with my Blood. And I wish heartily, that this my poor Life may put an End to the Persecution of the true Members of Christ in this Kingdom, so much actuate by these perfidious Prelates; and in Opposition to whom, and in Testimony of the Cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my Life; and bless my* GOD *that he hath thought me so much worthy to do the same for his Glory and Interest. Finally, concerning a Christian Duty in a singular extraordinary Case, and*

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my particular Judgment concerning both Church and State; it is evidently Declar'd, and Manifested more fully else-where. So farewell all Earthly Enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son and Holy Spirit, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

As to that particular Christian Duty in an extraordinary Case, and his Judgment concerning Church and State, manifested; he means a larger blasphemous Libel, which he left behind him, wherein he endeavours to justifie his Fact. It is very long, but yet I beseech you to read it over; and if you have not read *Naphthali*, nor *Jus Populi vindicatum*, which is a Reply to the Answer, which the Bishop of *Orkney*, whom this Miscreant wounded, made to *Naphthali*; I am confident, you must be surpriz'd with Horror and Astonishment, to see such Unchristian Doctrines come from a Christian Pen. Yet the Primitive Churches never receiv'd the Apostolick Epistles with greater Veneration, than the Members of our Field-Congregations receive such Discourses as this; nor can any Church-man respect any Ancient Ecclesiastical Writer half so much as they adore *Naphthali*, which is written in the Defence of the Rebellion in 1666. and wherein this horrid Man's attempt upon the Primate is commended for an *Heroical Act*; and that cursed Book, with *Lex, Rex, Jus Populi vindicatum* and Mr. *Rutherford's* Letters, are the Fathers and Counsels of our *Fife*, and *Western* Whigs.

I have here subjoyn'd the Account of my Self, Principles and foresaid Practices, as they were set down in a Letter to a Friend; and another Declaration both written by me, when first Convened before the Lords Justices, in the Year 1674.

The Copy of my Letter, *Edinburgh-Tolbooth, February* the 16*th*, 1674.

SIR,

ME (*who may justly call my Self the least of all Saints, and the chiefest of all Sinners*) *hath Christ his Son our Lord called, to be a Witness for his destroyed Truth and trampled on Interest, by this Wicked, Blasphemous and God-contemning Generation, and against all their other perfidious Wickednesses.*

Sir,

Sir, I ſay, the confidence I have in your real Friendſhip, and Love to Chriſt, his Truth, People, Intereſt and Cauſe, hath encouraged me to write to you, hoping that you will not miſ-conſtruct, nor take advantage of my Infirmities and Weakneſs. You have heard of my Indictment, which I take up in theſe two Particulars: First, *(as they term it) Rebellion and Treaſon, anent which I anſwer'd to my Lord Chancellor, That it was no Rebellion, but a Duty which every one was bound to have performed, in joining with that Party: And in the Year 1650. Mr.* Robert Lightonne, *being the Primate of the College of* Edinburgh *before our Laureation, tendered to us the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant; which upon mature Deliberation, I found nothing in them, but a ſhort Compend of the Moral Law only, obliging us to our Duty towards GOD, and Men in their ſeveral Stations; and I finding, that our then Baniſhed King's Intereſt lay wholly included therein, Viz. Both the Oath of Coronation, Allegiance, &c. And they being the then Teſſera of all Loyalty. And, my Lord, it was well known, that then many were taking the Tender, and for-ſwearing* Charles Stuart's *Parliament and Houſe of Lords, I then ſubſcribed them both. The doing of which, my Lord Chancellor, would have ſtood me at no leſs rate, if all's well known, than this my preſent adhering and proſecuting the Ends thereof, doth now: And when I was Queſtion'd, What then I called Rebellion; I Anſwer'd, That it is (Exo. 7. 26.)* And whoſoever will not do the Law of thy God, and of the King, &c. *But being Queſtion'd by the Commiſſioner, before the Council there anent; I Anſwered, as I ſaid to my Lord Chancellor before, in the Year 1650. Mr.* Robert Lightonne *being then Primate of the College of* Edinburgh, *before our Laureation, he tendered to us the National Covenant, and ſolemn League and Covenant; where he ſtopp'd me, ſaying, I wade you are come here to give a Teſtimony: And then being demanded, what I called Rebellion, if it was not Rebellion to oppoſe his Majeſty's Forces in the Face? To which I Anſwer'd, My Lord Commiſſioner, if it pleaſe your Grace, I humbly conceive, that they ſhould have been with us; meaning that it was the Duty of thoſe Forces to have joyned with us, according to the National Covenant; at which Anſwer I perceiv'd him to ſtorm. But, ſays he, I hear that you have been over Seas, with whom did you Converſe there?* Anſwer, *With my Merchant, my Lord. But ſaith he, with whom in particular? With one* John Mitchel, *a Couſin of mine. Saith he, I have heard tell of him, he is a Factor in* Rotterdam; *to which I conceded. But ſaith he, did you not Converſe with Mr.* Levingſton, *and ſuch as he? To which I Anſwered, my Lord Commiſſioner, I con-*

converſed with our baniſh'd Miniſters: To which he Reply'd, baniſh'd Miniſters! baniſh'd Traytors! He will ſpeak Treaſon at the very Bar. Then he anſwered himſelf, ſaying, But they would call the Shooting at the Biſhop, an Heroick Act: To which I Anſwered, That I never told them of any ſuch thing. Queſtion, *But where did you ſee* James Wallace *laſt?* *Anſw.* Towards the Borders of *Germany*, ſome Years ago. Queſt. *But what ailed you at my Lord St.* Andrews *here?* *pointing at him with his Finger.* *Anſw.* My Lord Commiſſioner, the grievous Oppreſſion and horrid Bloodſhed of my Brethren, and the eager Purſuit after my own Blood, as it appeareth this Day to your Grace, and to all his Majeſty's Honourable Council: After which he commanded to take me away, that they might ſee next what to do with me.

The Second *is, The Shooting that Shot, intended againſt the Biſhop of St.* Andrews, *whereby the Biſhop of* Orkney *was hurt; to which I Anſwer'd my Lord Chancellor in private, Viz. That I looked upon him to be the main Inſtigator of all the Oppreſſion and Bloodſhed of my Brethren, that followed thereupon; and the continual purſuing after my own: And my Lord Chancellor, as it was credibly reported to us (the Truth of which your Lordſhip knows better than we) that he kept up his Majeſty's Letter, inhibiting any more Blood to be ſhed upon that Account, until the laſt Ten were Executed; and I being a Soldier, not having laid down Arms, but being ſtill upon my own Defence, nor having any other Quarrel nor Aim at any Man, but according to my own Apprehenſion of him, and that, as I hope, in Sincerity, without fixing either my ſelf or any one upon the* Covenant *it ſelf, and as it may be underſtood, by many thouſands of the Faithful; beſides the proſecuting of the Ends of the ſame Covenant, which was, and is in that Part the Overthrow of Prelates and Prelacy: And I being a declar'd Enemy to him upon that Account, and he to me in like manner; ſo I never found my ſelf oblig'd, either by the Law of GOD, or Nature, to ſet a Sentry at his Door for his Safety; But as he was always ready to take his Advantage of me, as it now appeareth, ſo I of him when Opportunity offer'd: Moreover, we being in no term of Capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his Inſtigation being excluded from all Grace and Favour, thought it my Duty to purſue him upon all Occaſions. Alſo, my Lord, Sir* William Sharp *making his Apology anent his unhandſome cheating way, when he took me under pretext to have ſpoken with me, about ſome other Matter (I not knowing him until Five or Six of his Brothers, and his own Servants were laying faſt hold on me, they being armed of purpoſe) he deſired that I would excuſe him, ſeeing what he had done was upon his*

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Brothers Account; which Excuſe, my Lord, I eaſily admitted of, ſeeing that he thought himſelf obliged to do what he did without Law or Order, in the behalf of his Brother; much more was I obliged to do what I did, in behalf of many Brethren, whoſe Oppreſſion was ſo great, and whoſe Blood he had cauſed ſhed in ſuch abundance: Moreover, he inſiſting in his bloody Murders, as witneſs the wounding Mr. Bruce *at his taking of his Emiſſaries, ſome few Days before that fell out concerning himſelf; now, If by any means in taking him away, I could have put a ſtop to the then current Perſecution: Thus far I have truly reſumed what paſt.*

But this Anſwer to the ſecond Part of the Indictment, may be thought by ſome to be a ſtep out of the ordinary way; wherefore I ſhall offer theſe things following to your Conſideration, viz. *That paſſage,* Deut. 13. 9. *Where to me it is manifeſt, That the* Seducer *or* Inticer to Worſhip falſe Gods, *is to be put to Death by the Hands of thoſe whom he ſeeketh to turn away from the Lord, eſpecially by the Hand of the Witneſſes, whereof I am one; as it appears* Deut. 13. 9. *which Precept I humbly conceive to be Moral, and not meerly Judicial, and that it is not at all Ceremonial or Levitical: But as every Moral Precept is Univerſal as to the Extent of Place, ſo alſo as to the Extent of Time and Perſons; upon which Command, Sir, I do really think that* Phineas *acted in taking away the* Midianitiſh *Whore, and him whom ſhe had ſeduced,* Numb. 25. 6. *Alſo that* Elijah *by vertue of that Precept, gave Commandment to the People to deſtoy* Baal's *Prieſts, contrary to the Mind of the ſeducing Magiſtrate, who was not only remiſs and negligent in executing Juſtice, but became a Protector and Defender of the Seducers: Then and in that Caſe, I ſuppoſe the Chriſtian's Duty not to be very dark. Moreover. we ſee what the People of* Iſrael *did,* 2 Chron. 31. 1. *They deſtroyed Idolatry, not only in* Judah, *where the King concurred, but in* Ephraim *and* Manaſſeh, *where the King himſelf was an Idolater; and ſurely what all the People were bound to do, as their Duty by the Law of GOD, every one was bound to do it to the uttermoſt of their Power and Capacity. And as it is,* Ezek. 13. 3. *Where the Seducer's Father and Mother ſhall put him to Death; I take this to be meant of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate. But when he is withdrawn by the ſeducer from the Exerſiſe of his Office and Duty, and he's become utterly Remiſs and Negligent in putting the Seducer to Death, according to GOD's expreſs Law; which is not to be expected of him (for then he ſhould do Juſtice upon himſelf) but is become a Protector and Defender of the Idolater; then I doubt not, but it doth become the Duty of every Chriſtian, to the uttermoſt of his Power and Capacity, to deſtroy and cut off*

both, Idolatry and Idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously-murthering Prelates ought to be kill'd by the Avenger of Blood, when he meeteth them, by the expres's Law of GOD; seeing the thing is manifestly true, Numb. 25. 21. *and not have liberty to flee to such Cities of Refuge, as the vain Pretext of Lawful Authority: But they should be taken even from the Horns of such Altars, and be put to Death. Moreover, what is spoken of concerning* Amalek, *upon the account, that he design'd and resolv'd the Extirpation of the Lord's People and Truth, who are his Throne, upon which he puts forth his Hand; and because he took occasion against them,* Exod. 17. 15. Numb. 24. 20. *He endeavouring that GOD should not have a People to have served him, according to his revealed Will, upon the Earth; and if he could have effected his Design, they should not have lived, who would not serve and worship him, and his Idol Gods: And for the better effectuating this his Design, he took occasion against them when they were weary, in coming out of* Egypt, Deut. 25. 17, 18. *And the reason there annexed, is, That he feared not GOD. Now, because I know Bishops both will, and do say, That what they did against those of the Lord's People, whom they Murdered, they did by Law and Authority, but what I did, was contrary to both:* Answ. *The King himself, and all the Estates of the Land, and every individual Person therein, both were, and are obliged, by the Oath of GOD upon them, to have by force of Arms, extirpated perjured Prelates and Prelacy; and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their Lives and Fortunes; the Covenants being engaged into, upon these Terms,* Viz. *After Supplications, Remonstrations, Protestations, and all other lawful Means have been used; now for that effect, as the last Remedy, we take up Arms; upon which Conditions, the Nobility, and all the Representatives of the Nation, according to the National, and Solemn League and Covenant, gave to our King both the Sword and Scepter, and set the Crown upon his Head; and he accordingly received them, according to these Sacred Oaths and Promises, and swore by the Ever-living GOD, to use and improve them for the End aforesaid; and especially, in order to the performing of this Article,* Viz. *The Extirpation and Over-throw of Prelates and Prelacy: And now the want of what Authority do they mean or speak of? Truly I know not, except it be the Authority of their Aggregation of new Gods, of whom they have their Gain, Life and Standing,* Viz. Chemosh *or* Bacchus, *which with drunken* Moab, *delighted to dwell within dark Cells. and* Ashteroth *and* Venus, *whom they worship in the Female-kind, because of their Adulteries and Whoredoms; as also* Milchom *or* Molech, *which signifies*

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a Tyrannical King, or a Devil, if they will have it ſo; in whoſe Arms and Power they put their young Infants and Poſterity to be Burnt and Deſtroyed, according to his Luſt and Pleaſure, Amos 5. 26. Pſalm 116. 37. and that Mammon, which they delight to worſhip daily, together with their own Bellies, whoſe glory is their ſhame; who mind Earthly things; whoſe End will be Deſtruction, except they repent, which there is little probability of, Pſalm 3. 19. To which if we may add their abominable Pride, and Blaſphemous Perjury, then their Gods will be equal in number to the Whore their Mother, from whom they have their being, ſtrength and ſtanding; and from the Devil their Father, who was a Deceiver, Lyar, Murderer from the beginning: And now ſeeing the Prelates poſſeſs whatſoever their Gods, Chemoſh, &c. grueth them to poſſeſs, then why ſhould not we poſſeſs what the Lord our God giveth us to poſſeſs, viz. His eternal Truths manifeſted to us, in his revealed Will, and keep and defend the ſame, from all Innovations, Corruptions and Traditions of his or our Adverſaries, defend our Lives, Laws and Liberties, out of the Hands of our Uſurping Enemies, Jude 11, 24. for ſure I am, that God once diſpoſſeſt the Prelates and Malignants of all theſe, and ſhould they again poſſeſs through our deſect, God forbid. But the like of this work, our Murthering Prelates like not; who plead like the Whore their Mother for paſſive Obedience; and that all the Lords People, who may not comply with your Idolatries, ſhould lay down their Necks to their bloody Axes; with whom too too many of our Hypocritical time-ſerving and perfidious Profeſſors do agree, who would rather abide with Reuben, amongſt the Sheep-folds, than Jeopard either life or fortune in the help of the Lord againſt the Mighty, but do not conſider the bitter Curſe pronounced by the Angel of the Lord againſt Meroz; to which he immediately ſubjoins a Bleſſing upon Jael, the Wife of Hebar the Kenite; Others excuſe themſelves thus, viz. Vengeance is mine, and I will re-pay; but ſo the Throne and Judgment is the Lord's; and by this they would take away the Uſe and Office of Magiſtracy, which erroneous Principle I deteſt; for GOD even in the working of Miracles, viz. in dividing the Red Sea, Exod. 14. 16. he commanded Moſes to ſtretch forth his Rod; and Chriſt, when he opened the blind Man's Eyes, maketh uſe of Clay and of Spittle; tho' indeed, I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity; yet there are many peeviſh time-ſerving Profeſſors, who reſolve they ſhall never ſuffer ſo long as they have either Soul or Conſcience to Morgage; providing that they may ſave them from Suffering; and if it will not do their Buſineſs, it ſeemeth (that before they ſuffer) they reſolve to ſell out at the ground. Now, Sir, I have neither

mis-interpreted Scripture, nor mis-apply'd it, in regard of the Persons here hinted at, nor been wrong in the End, which ought to be the Glory of GOD, and the good of his Church and People. Then I think that some Persons might forbear to scourge me so sore with their Tongues, while I am not yet Condemned by the common Enemy; and my bearing of some things, reported by some behind my Back, hath occasion'd my writing to you at this time. O Sir, be intreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased out of his Mercy and Goodness, to save me from Sinning under Suffering, in this Hour and Power of Darkness; for my Soul is prest in me, in the search betwixt Sin and Duty, viz. *left I should be too niggard and sparing of Life, when GOD calleth for it; and upon the other Hand, left I should be too prodigal and lavish of it, in not using all legal Defences in preserving of it; and many things of the like Nature. I am in a strait, O Lord, undertake thou for me. Sir, I hope you will excuse me, in sending you these indistinct and irregular Lines, when you consider my present condition. Sir, believe, I would many times, when I am before them, think a Scaffold a sweet Retirement, left they should cheat and deceive me; in making me, either to stain the declarative Glory of GOD, my own Conscience, or his People and Interest, in wronging of them, either by opening of the Adversaries Mouth against them, or in letting loose their Hand upon them: Henceforth let the Adversary either say or do what they can, yet* the Righteous will hold on their way, and he who hath clean Hands will be stronger and stronger, *Job* 17. 9. But he that saith unto the Wicked, Thou art Righteous, him shall the People Curse, Nations shall abhor him, *Prov.* 24. 24. *Farewell in the Lord.*

P. S. It is acknowledged by all Rational Royalists, That it is Lawful for any private Person to kill an Usurper, or Tyrant, *sine titulo*; and to kill *Irish* Robbers and Tories, or the like; and to kill Boars, Wolves, and such Devouring Beasts; because the good of this Action doth not redound to the Person himself only, but to the whole Commonwealth; and the Person Acting incurs the Danger himself alone. The Second Part of *The Cloud of Witnesses*, P. 60. Mr. *Knox*, has these expres Words, *For GOD*, saith he, *had not only given me Knowledge and a Tongue, to make known the impiety of the Idol, but had givin me Credit with many, who would have put in Execution GOD's Judgments, if I would only have consented thereto.* But so careful was I of common Tranquility, and so loth was I to offend some, that in secret Conference with Zealous Men, I Travell'd

rather

rather to ſlacken that Fervency, GOD had kindled in them, than to animate or encourage them, to put their Hands to the Lord's Work; wherein I acknowledge my ſelf to have done moſt wickedly; and from the bottom of my Heart I do ask my GOD pardon, that I did not what in me lay, to have ſuppreſt that Idol in the Beginning. But, O! How far are the Men in our Time from ſuch Convictions, whoſe Work it is to put out any Spark of Life or Zeal, which appeareth in any Perſon, againſt Idolatry, and Idol of our times. Now let Men, whether Foes or Friends, Carp or Quarrel never ſo much, yet the Purpoſe and Determination of GOD will not be diſappointed, in living Witneſſes againſt this miſ-believing Generation, *Viz.* That he is both All-powerful and Willing to Deliver one or more of his People truſting in Him: Yea, and that *there is no reſtraint unto the Lord, to ſave by many or by few*, 1 Sam. 14. 6. If any be Obedient to the Voice of his Commandments, altho' Succeſs doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to *Iſrael*, Joſh. 7. 12. againſt the City of *Ai*, becauſe there was an *Achan* in the Camp; and, alas, there are many *Achans* in the Camp of our *Iſrael*, which cauſe the Lord's People to fall Daily before their Enemies; and which makes all their Endeavours unſucceſsful: I mean, the hidden time-ſerving Hypocrites and Mumurers, who have preferred their Backs and Bellies to the Intereſt of GOD, and their Hearts ſtill deſirous to return to *Ægypt*. I ſay, until ſuch Rebels be Purged, and Dye, we can have little expectation to Proſper in any Enterprize or Undertaking; for they have both Betray'd and Miſ-believed GOD, notwithſtanding of all his Miracles which he did of Old, and which he has done in our Days, for his People, and before their Eyes; yet they are ſo far gone back in a Courſe of Apoſtacy and Compliance with the *Canaanites* of our Times, and are become ſo brutiſhly Ignorant of the expreſs Law of GOD, and are ſuch Enemies thereto, that they do rather concur with the ſaid *Canaanites*, Judg. 6. 25. to have *Gideon* put to Death for performing his Duty, conform to the expreſs Command of GOD, than either to Study thereof themſelves, or give Obedience thereto. But if it be Objected, that *Gideon* had an expreſs Command from GOD, for throwing down of *Baal's* Altar, and for cutting down of the Grove, and deſtroying of the *Midianites*. *Anſwer*, Indeed he had an expreſs Command of GOD for his Encouragement; but he had no new Command from GOD, ſave that which was expreſly enjoined upon all the *Iſraelites*; by virtue of which, every one was obliged to have done what he did,

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without any such Message from GOD, *Deut.* 7. 2, 3, 15. and who are readier with *Judas* (before they incur danger or loss) to send three thousand Men to bring *Sampson* bound to the *Philistines*, than to have sent him ten of his Assistance against the common Enemy; concerning the Truth of which, we have gotten many sad Experiments. But however, I hope, that what hath been said, shall occasion a further Cognition of, and a more serious Search into these fore-mentioned Truths, than hath been for a long Time by-past.

That, albeit I have singly Declared my own Motives and Reasons for that Attempt and Shooting; wherein I then had, and now have Peace, and Hope to find Acceptance of GOD, according to the Multitude of his Mercies, to such as Seek and Fear him in Sincerity: Yet, I will not take on me Absolutely, and in every Respect, to Justifie or Assert, That it is my own deliberate and fixed Principle; let be that it is justified by, and is the Principle of the *Non-conforming Presbyterian Party* of the Church of *Scotland*; of which I have the Honour and Happiness to be one, the unworthiest of many: Nay, if I should say so of them, I would be found a Lyar against the Truth; for I adventur'd on it upon my own pure and proper Motion, without the Instigation of any, yea, without the Privacy of that Party; whom therefore I earnestly desire, that none may Charge with; and if any shall, I do with the greatest Confidence aver, That they deal with them most unjustly. I have, I say again, in the Simplicity of my Heart, with Candour and Ingenuity, becoming a Dying Man, and a Christian, believing that he must be made Manifest before the Tribunal of Christ, and there receive according to the Things done in the Body, whether they be Good or Evil; giving an Account of the Reasons and Motives, pousing and pressing me on to it, wherein I had quietness of Mind in the Time, and have still to this present hour; hoping, that as he is Sovereign Lord over all Creatures, and may use any of them as Instruments to whatsoever his Pleasure is; and that, as I say, I did take, and do still look upon the Motion as from himself; so he will accept of my Sincerity in it; and one Day, both bring forth his own and my Righteousness as the Light,

His

His SPEECH at the Place of *Execution*.

'I Suppose, some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this Place of Suffering; to which I have no other Answer than that which *Elijah* gave, when threatned with Death by *Jezabel*, 1 *King* 19. 14. I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the Children of *Israel* have forsaken thy Covenant, thrown down thine Altars and true Worship, and slain his Prophets and Ministers: And they seek my Life to take it away.

'With all my Heart and Soul, I own and adhere to the Work of Reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this Kingdom, according to the Word of GOD, and the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; as it was settled amongst us in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, by general Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Kirk-Sessions, and the Peoples just Power to choose and call their own lawful Pastors; and I do declare, that I judge Patronage to be a Popish Right, and an Usurpation in the House of GOD.

'I do believe and am perswaded, that Magistracy is an Ordinance appointed of GOD, as well under the New Testament as it was under the Old; and that whosoever resisteth the Lawful Magistrate in the exercise of his Lawful Power, resisteth the Ordinance and Appointment of GOD, *Rom.* 13. 3. *For he is God's Minister to you for thy good*, and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him, 1 *Pet.* 2. 12. We must obey the lawful Magistrate for Conscience sake, *Deut.* 17. 15, 16, 17. The lawful Magistrate must be a Man qualified according to GOD's Appointment, and not according to the Peoples Lust and Pleasure, lest in the End he should prove to them a Prince of *Sodom*, and a Governour of *Gomorrah*, whom GOD in his Righteousness should Appoint for their Judgment, and Establish for their Correction: He must be one of thy Brethren, and not the Face of a Stranger; he must not make himself strong by Multiplying of Horses, to the End he may compel the Lord's People to Rebel against the Lord's express Command; nor *Jeroboam*-like, compel the People to any course of Apostacy; he must not multiply Wives to himself, and much less Whores, nor Marry an Idolatrous Wife like *Jezabel*, 1 *Kings* 16. 31. Nor be Covetous in Multiplying

'to

« to himself Silver or Gold; he must be a diligent Student
« of the Law of the Lord all the Days of his Life, that he
« turn neither to the Right Hand, nor to the Left Hand
« therefrom, but must judge the People accordingly; other-
« wise neither he nor his Children can expect to prolong
« their Days, 2 *Sam.* 23. 3. He must not be a Son of *Belial*
« without or above Order and Law, whom a Man cannot
« touch except he be fenced with Iron, for such shall all be
« prest away; for (saith *David*) *he that ruleth over Men*
« *must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord*, &c. But if a
« Man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter,
« when he had strengthned himself upon the Throne, shall
« abjure and sacrifice his Oath and Covenant, both to GOD
« and his Subjects, and shall transgress the Law and Com-
« mandment of the Lord, who hath given the Magistrate
« only one accumulative Power, to promove, protect and
« defend GOD's Laws, Truth and People, from being cor-
« rupted, violated or any ways damnified; and for that
« End he hath received both his Place and his Power from
« GOD and Men, for he hath not received of the Lord an
« obstructive, destructive or privative Power; for (as has
« been said) the People can give no Right nor Power to
« any Man, but what is according to GOD's Appointment,
« lest they should incur the sad Challenge from GOD, *Hosea*
« 8. 4. *They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have*
« *made Princes, but I knew it not.* For in *Chap.* 10. *v.* 3. *Israel*
« there is brought in confessing their fault, and they deny'd
« they had a King, because he was not such as GOD had
« Appointed, and said, What should a King do to them?
« Seeing he had partly by Force, and partly by Fraud,
« withdrawn them from the Fear and Obedience which
« they ought to GOD, and to his Law; and had seduced
« and compell'd them to Idolatry, and worshipping of false
« Gods: And if the Magistrate being in Power, shall over-
« turn the Covenant-work of GOD, his Truth and Inter-
« ests, the Fundamental and Municipal Laws of the Land;
« and moreover by a setled Parliament, according to his own
« Mind, and for his own Use and Ends, they, as the Peoples
« Representatives, do by Acts *Rescissory* rescind all Acts of
« laudable lawful Parliaments, Committee of States or
« Councils; wherein were contained or comprehended any
« mutual Bond, Obligation, Covenant or Contract betwixt
« the Prince or People, he having divested himself of any
« legal Right he could have or pretend over such a People,
« and they being *in Statu quo prius*, and none having Right
« to Rule over them without their own Consent; if the

« afore-

'afore-said Magiſtrate ſhall then again Uſurp and Invade 'his Peoples Lives, Religions, Liberties and Lays, and 'make even ſimple ſupplicating of him, Crimes of Treaſon, 'contrary to the Dictates of Nature; and he by armed 'Emiſſaries, and by his Arbitrary Power, carried on by 'the Sword in their Hands, compel the Lord's People to 'relinquiſh and to forſake the true Religion and Worſhip 'of GOD, and make a ſurrender of both their Soul, Con-'ſcience, Lives, Laws, Liberties, and imbrace a falſe Re-'ligion and Will-worſhip, and engage to Serve and Wor-'ſhip falſe and idol Gods at his Pleaſure: For thus all that 'is dear and near to a People being in the extremity of 'hazard; now it neceſſarily follow'd to be the Duty of ſuch 'People, or any part of them, to take up Arms in Defence 'of their Lives, Laws, Religion and Liberties, and of 'their Poſterity, that they may not be left in ſuch an into-'lerable Bondage; and as they would not be accounted 'guilty of bringing GOD's Wrath upon the whole Land, 'Jer. 22. 2, 3. *Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah,* '&c. *Thou and thy Servants, and the People that enter in by* '*theſe Gates, execute Judgment and Righteouſneſs, and deliver* '*the oppreſſed out of the hand of the oppreſſor,* Chap. 37. 2. *But* '*neither he, nor the Servants, nor the People of the Land* '*hearkned to the Prophet Jeremiah, until Wrath from the Lord* '*conſumed them all.* Now, had it not been the Peoples 'Duty, to have Executed Judgment and Righteouſneſs, and 'to have deliver'd the Oppreſſed out of the Hands of the 'Oppreſſor; *Zedekiah* and his Servants (which I think was 'meaned by the Nobility and Princes) proving deficient, in 'order to the performing of their Duty, it neceſſarily fol-'loweth to be the Peoples Duty; for if it had not been their 'Duty, it had not been their Sin to have omitted it; but 'here we ſee it is as well charged home to be the Peoples 'Sin, as to be the Sin of the King, or the Sin of his Nobles: 'But, ſay ſome, Who ſhall be Judge is ſuch Caſes? To whi-h 'I Anſwer, That the Law of GOD is the only Supreme 'and Infallible Judge in all ſuch Caſes; for what other Judge 'is, when two Kings or Monarhs falleth out in War, neither 'of them being Subject to any other Judge. But ſome Pro-'phane and Brutiſhly Ignorant Malignant, ſaith, That this 'or that ignorant Fellow or Huſſy, take upon them to 'determine what the Law of GOD ſaith in ſuch Caſes: I 'Anſwer, neither this nor that ignorant Fellow or Huſſy, 'nor yet this or that ignorant, prophane, wicked or per-'fidious Prince or Princeſs, is capable to be Judge, *Deut.* '30. 11. *For this Commandment which I commaud thee this*

'*Day,*

Day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, verſe 12. *It is not in Heaven, that thou ſhouldſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it*, &c. *neither is it beyond the Sea*, &c. *but the word is very near unto thee, in thy Mouth and in thy Heart that thou may'ſt do it*: And in this Caſe I do appeal to any Man of a ſober Wit and Judgment, ſeeing the *Secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him*, Pſalm 25. 14. *And ſeeing evil Men underſtand not Judgment, but they that ſeek the Lord underſtand all things*, Prov. 28. 5. *For they know not how to do Right, who ſtore up Robbery in their Palaces*, Amos 3. 10. who is moſt capable to judge, what the Law of GOD determineth in all ſuch matters. *Artaxerxes*, a gteat Monarch, Commanded, *That whatſoever is Commanded of the God of Heaven, that it ſhould be diligently done, for the Houſe of the God of Heaven; for why ſhould there be Wrath upon the King and his Sons?* Ezra 7. 23. But O how many Men at this time of the Sons of *Belial*, contrary to what is here ſpoken of, skrew up thoſe who are above them to ſo high a Pinacle, and an Illimitated and Arbitrary Power, far above what either the Law of GOD, or the Law of Nature will admit of, for this very End and Purpoſe, that they may glory in the Works of their own Hands; and that he whom they have thus ſet up, and to whom they have made a ſurrender of both Credit, Conſcience and common Honeſty, may return unto them a Power over others who are under them, by putting Swords in the Hands of bloody Cut-throats; who are raiſed and keeped up for that effect, to keep and bring into an *Ægyptian* Bondage, the Perſons, Lives, Laws, Liberties, yea even the Souls and Conſciences of the Lord's People; the which Power, I declare to be Diabolical, Prophane and Blaſphemous; and *Pharoah*-like to ſay, *Who is the Lord that they ſhould obey him?* Exod. 5. 2. Now ſeeing both the Throne and the Judgment is the Lord's, then O bleſſed and happy Magiſtrate, who Ruleth and Governeth his Subjects, keeping in a ſtreight Line of Subordination to GOD's Law and Statutes, for in ſo doing, Who may ſay to him, what doſt thou? *Prov.* And O happy and bleſſed People thus Governed, *Deut.* 4. 8. *And what Nation is there ſo great, that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo Righteous, as all this Law which I ſet before you this day?* But O the Blaſphemous Perjuries and Wickedneſs of this Apoſtate Generation, whom no Bands, Obligations nor Covenants can bind, except theſe ſpoken in the 149 *Pſal.* 8. But ſhall they thus break the Covenant, and eſcape and be deliver'd?

Ezek.

'*Ezek.* 17. 15, 18. As if the Lord's Hand and Power 'could not reach them, to inflict juſt and due Puniſhment 'upon them which commit ſuch things. I do deteſt and 'abhor that woful Indulgence and Incroachment, and Uſur-'pation on the Crown and Prerogatives Royal of our Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt (at leaſt in the Givers thereof) howbeit, I 'have very much Love, Charity, and Affection to many 'who have embraced the ſame: For I do really think, that 'they have been outwitted in that Matter, and have not 'wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope 'they ſhall get their Souls for a Prey in the Day of the Lord, 'altho' they may ſuffer loſs, in building ſuch Hay and 'Stubble upon the Rock Chriſt Jeſus, when that their Work 'ſhall be burnt up by the Fire of his Jealouſie.

'I proteſt before GOD, Angels and Men, againſt all 'theſe Acts of Parliament or Council, which are againſt 'and derogative to the Work of GOD and Reformation, 'and carrying on of the ſame, according as we are ingaged 'and ſworn in theſe holy Bands of the National Covenant, 'and Solemn League and Covenant: I abhor the ſhedding 'of the Blood of the Lord's People, for their adhering to 'the ſame, and the Peoples guarding ſuch in Priſon-houſes 'and at Scaffolds unto their Death; whom both by the 'Oath of GOD upon them, and by the Eminent and 'Laudable Laws of the Land, and by the Law of Nature, 'they were obliged to have defended to the uttermoſt of 'their Lives and Fortunes; it being moſt well known, 'that ſuch as were put to Death, had committed no Crime, 'but on the contrary had performed a Duty, which they 'were as much obliged to have performed as theſe, if the 'Guarders had been as faithful to GOD and Man as the 'Pannels were.

'Likewiſe I proteſt againſt their Baniſhment, Impriſon-'ment, or Finings or Confinements, and againſt all the 'Hardſhips and Perplexities of whatſoever kind which they 'have been put to, through the Iniquity of the Times; ſo 'that we may juſtly with our Predeceſſors ſay, That our 'Perſecutors have devoured us, and have cruſhed us; have 'emptied us, ſwallow'd us up like a Dragon, and have filled 'their Bellies with our Delicates, and have caſt us out, *Jer.* '5. 34. For which Cauſe, GOD gave a Charge to pre-'pare Inſtruments for the Over-throw and Deſtruction of 'ſuch Perſecutors, *ver.* 12. Becauſe it was the Vengeance 'of the Lord and of his Temple; ſo ſhall our Remnant, 'who outlive theſe Perſecutors, ſay, *ver.* 35. The Violence 'done to me and my Fleſh, be upon *Babylon*, and my Blood

'be upon the Inhabitants of *Chaldea*; let Wrath from the 'Lord purſue them, for their Blood and Violence in their 'Perſons and Eſtates, and their Strength wherein they 'confide, and in their Friends and Favorites; who have 'conſulted and contrived within their wicked Courſes. I 'hope the time is drawing Nigh, and that the Joints of 'their Loins is looſing, their Knees are beginning to ſmite 'one againſt another, *Dan.* 5. 6. and the Hand-writing 'begins to be pourtrayed upon the Wall, becauſe they have 'not conſider'd what GOD did to their Predeceſſors, for 'their Idolatrous Pride and Wickedneſs; altho' they knew 'it, yet they are become more inſolent in Idolatry and 'Wickedneſs, and daring againſt GOD, than ever their 'Forefathers preſumed to be, in medling with the Veſſels 'and Materials of GOD's Houſe, and with the Crown and 'Kingly Office of Chriſt Jeſus; and have appropiate them 'to their own Idolatrous Ends and Uſes, *ver.* 21, 22. There-'fore, when the forbiſh'd Sword of the Lord's Indignation 'and Juſtice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do 'before the dark Night of theſe dreadful Diſpenſations paſs 'over; then ſhall the time-ſerving Hypocrites of this Ge-'neration begin to their untimely Prayers. *viz.* Hills and 'Mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the Face of 'the Righteous Judge; For who may abide the Day of his 'coming, for Executing of Vengeance on his Adverſaries? 'In that Day the Man ſhall be accuſed who keepeth back his 'Sword from Blood, and who doth the Work of the Lord 'deceitfully, *Jer.* 48. 10. Yea, happy ſhall he be, that taketh 'this curſed Malignant, and Prelatical Brood, and daſheth 'them againſt the Stones; yea, happy ſhall he be, that reward-'eth them as they have ſerved us, *Pſalm* 137. For this 'honour have all his Saints, the high Praiſes of GOD in 'ther Mouth, and a two Edged Sword in their Hand, to 'execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, *Pſalm* 149.

'Having thus deliver'd my ſelf in the Points that I have 'mentioned, I only add to what I have ſaid, That I do 'only own theſe things as my own Judgment, in theſe great 'and important Matters; not willing that any thing wherein 'others may differ from me, ſhould be looked upon as the 'Principles and Perſwaſion of that Party whereto I adhere; 'And I obteſt, that no Man be ſo Diabolick and Prophane, 'as to Charge this upon any of my Perſwaſion, it being but 'my own; in which I hope GOD hath approven me. 'And whom GOD Juſtifieth, who dare Condemn?

'Now, if the Lord, in his Wiſe and Over-ruling Provi-'dence, bring me to the End of my Pilgrimage, and to my

'long

'long looked for and desir'd Happiness; let him take his
'own way and time in bringing me to it: And in the mean
'while, O my Soul, sing thou this Song, Spring up, O Well
'of this Happiness and Salvation, of all this Eternal Hope
'and Consolation; and whilst thou art burthened with this
'Clog of a Clay Tabernacle, Dig thou Deep in it by Faith,
'Patience, Hope and Charity, and withal the Instruments
'which GOD hath given thee; Dig in it both by Pre-
'cepts and Promises; Dig carefully, and Dig continually,
'ay and till thou come to the Source and Head of the
'Fountain himself, from whence the Waters of Life flow
'forth; Dig until thou come to the Assembly of the First
'Born, when this Song is most suitably sung to the Praise
'and Glory of the rich Mercy and free Grace of this Foun-
'tain of Life: O my Soul, follow (in all this digging)
'the Direction of the great Law-giver; so shalt thou prosper
'in all thy taking of Pains. O happy Nobles and Princes
'of *Israel*, who were admitted to the Sight and to the Song,
'to the Pains and to the Profit, which none of the mixed
'Multitude of Murmurers were admitted to because of their
'unbelief, *Numb.* 21. 17. And O, Father of Mercy, while
'I am tossed upon the turbulent Seas of manifold troubles,
'grant that thy Presence may be with me, and that thy
'Everlasting Arms may be underneath me to support me;
'for sure I am, *Moses* thy Servant had good reason to be
'importunate in this Suit, *Exod.* 32. 2. compared with 14
'and 15 *ver. Chap.* 34. 9. Seeing no less could furnish him
'with fresh Supplies in the work he was about. O let thy
'Presence be with me, and then my Soul shall dig and sing,
'and sing and dig through times of trouble into Eternal
'Rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the Rock
'Christ, out of whom floweth the pure Fountain and River
'of Life and Happiness, which I may drink and not be
'damnified through the Assaults of Satan, or the Invasions
'of Sin, or of a wicked World any more; now according to
'thy Promise, *Matt.* 10. 19. Out of thy Fatherly Mercy
'grant present Help, Supply and Direction in this time of
'Trouble, seeing it is not in Man that walketh, to direct
'his own Steps, *Jer.* 10. 23. and tho' it be a hard thing
'rightly to distinguish betwixt Sin and Duty, yet thy Law,
'thy Word and thy Truth, which are quick and powerful,
'dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit, and is a Director of the
'Thoughts, and thy Law giveth Light, *Psal.* 119. 105.
'*Psal.* 32. 8. *For thy Testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making*
'*wise the simple*, *Psal.* 19. 7. For thou alone canst make all thy
'Dispensations prove profitable, in order to the purging away

'of

of Sin, even when they ſeem to be Deſtructive, *Eſa.* 27. 9. Eſpecially, when thou intends them not for Deſtruction, but for Tryal, *Deut.* 8. 2, 16. and for further Humiliation; for thou, O Lord, haſt led me for many Years through a barren and wearisom Wilderneſs, to the End that thou mayſt work thy work of Mortification in me; altho', if it had ſeemed good unto thee, thou couldſt have brought me into the Land of Promiſe and Reſt a nearer way, *Exod.* 13. 17. For thou by Hardſhips, many a time hides Pride from Men, and ſealeſt up their Inſtruction, that thou may'ſt deliver his Soul from the Pit, and that his Life may ſee the Light, *Job* 33. 17. And although thou, O Lord, ſhouldſt ſend me the back Tract and Tenor of my Life, to ſeek my Soul's Comforts and Incouragements from thence; yet I have no Cauſe to complain of hard dealing from thy Hand, ſeeing it is thy ordinary way with ſome of thy People, *Pſal.* 42. 6. O GOD, my Soul is caſt down within me, therefore will I remember thee from the Land of *Jordan* and from the Hill *Hermon*, &c. Yea, the laſt time he brought me to the Banqueting-houſe, and made Love his Banner over me (amongſt the Cold *High-land Hills* beſide *Kipper*, *November* 1673.) he remembred his former Kindneſſes towards me; but withal he ſpoke it in mine Ear, That there was a tempeſtuous Storm to meet me in the Face, which I behooved to go thro' with the ſtrength of that Proviſion, 1 *Kings* 19. 7. And now, O my Soul, ſeeing it is his ordinary way and method with thee, to ſend a Shower and a Sunblink, and again a Sunblink and Shower; therefore, keep thou ſilent to GOD, and murmur not, fret not, be not diſquieted, be ſtill, and be content, ſeeing all my Perſecutors can do, either by Fraud or Force, can neither alter the Nature or Kind of my Sufferings, or add ſo much as a Degree thereto, neither lengthen out the time of them for a Moment, *Matth.* 10. 29. *Exod.* 12. 41. All *Pharaoh's* Power could not keep *Iſrael* one Night longer in *Ægypt*; therefore it is my Duty to ſtudy with *Paul*, *Phil.* 4. 11, 12. *Whatſoever ſtate I am in, therewith to be content*; and ſay, *Should the Earth be forſaken, and the Rock be removed out of its Place for me?* Job 18. 4. Should GOD alter the courſe of his Providence for me, in which there is ſuch an Efficacy as to carry all things to the proper and appointed End: What an irreſiſtable Power? And that I may be found in him, *Not as having my own Righteouſneſs which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith*, Phil. 3. 9, 10. and to reſign up unto GOD my Will

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and Affections, to be diſpoſed as he pleaſeth, and to ſay with Fear, Humility and Reverence, *O Father, not my Will, but thine be done*; and whether I live or dye, I may be the Lord's, that thro' his Mercy and Grace, I may attain to his Approbation, *viz. Well done, good and faithful Servant*, who hath hitherto ſent his Angel, and *ſhut the Lyons Mouth that they have not hurt me*, Dan. 6. 22. And who hath ſo ſhut the Eyes of my Perſecutors with a *Sodomitiſh* Blindneſs, that hitherto they could not find out the way how to break in upon me; and I hope he will in due time bring me out of the fiery Furnace, and ſhall not through his Grace ſuffer the ſmell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my Duty, to worſhip this rotten and ſtinking Idol of Jealouſie, which theſe Nations have ſet up, who have killed both the Lord Jeſus and their own Prophets, and have Perſecuted us, *Theſ.* 1. 15. *For thou, O Lord, haſt not abhorred nor deſpiſed my Afflictions when I was Afflicted, neither haſt thou hid thy Face from me, but when I cryed unto thee thou heardeſt me*, Pſal. 22. 24. Now, *O Lord God, thou haſt made the Heaven and the Earth by thy great Power and ſtretched out Arm*, Jer. 37. 2. Bring thou me at length to a happy Arrival within the Gates of the *New Jeruſalem*, where no unclean thing can come; that my Praiſe may be of Thee in the great Congregation. And altho' as *Job* ſaith, *Chap.* 10. 17. That thou, O Lord, haſt deliver'd me to the ungodly, and haſt turned me over into the Hands of the wicked, yet *by this I know, that thou, O Lord favoureſt me, becauſe mine Enemies do not Triumph over me*: When I ſtand in Judgment, thou, O Lord, didſt not condemn; and if it pleaſeth thee, thou will not leave me in their Hands, *Pſal.* 41. 11. *Pſal.* 37. 39. But canſt bring up my Life from the Pit of Corruption, *Jonah* 2. 6. And ſeeing I have not preferred, nor ſought after mine own things, but thy Honour and Glory, the Good, Liberty and Safety of thy Church and People, altho' I may be now miſ-conſtructed by many; yet at length I hope, thou, Lord, wilt make my Light break forth as the Morning, and my Righteouſneſs as the Noon-day; and that Shame and Darkneſs ſhall cover all who are Adverſaries to my Righteous Cauſe; for thou, Lord, art the Shield of my Help and the Sword of my Excellency, and my Enemies ſhall be found Lyars, *Amen*, yea and *Amen*.

JAMES MITCHEL.

In

IN ſome parts of this Villainous Paper, you find the Author Diſcourſing like a *Jeſuit*, in ſome like an *Enthuſiaſt*, and in many Places like *both*. And from the Beginning to the End of it, he Argues from the ſuppoſed Validity of the judicial Law, which GOD gave the *Iſraelites*, not as their GOD, but as their Political Sovereign; and which they on the other Hand received from his Infinite Majeſty, not on a Moral Account, as his Rational Creatures, or the Sons of *Adam* or *Noah*; but upon the Account of the Civil Relation they had to him as Subjects, or his People in a Political Senſe. For the *Jewiſh* Government, as all their Writers agree, was a *Theocratical* Conſtitution, or the Temporal Kingdom of GOD; who was pleaſed to become *Jehovah-Stator*, and dwell among them in a viſible external Manner: In ſo much that the Judges and the Kings were but his High Commiſſioners and Vice-Roys, who were Choſen and Depoſed by him at his Pleaſure; and like *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, his firſt two Generals, could neither make War nor Peace, nor undertake any State-matter of great Moment, without firſt asking Council of the Lord.

Sometimes he Anſwered them by Meſſengers or Prophets, ſometimes by Dreams and Viſions, but moſt commonly in the time betwixt *Moſes* and the Captivity, by *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was a Political Oracle, appointed on purpoſe for the Judges, Kings or Generals, or the whole Congregation to conſult in Matters of State and War. But our Saviour, who came to break down the Wall of Partition betwixt the *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, threw his Fathers Incloſure into the Common again, and put an End to his Political Government over the *Jews*. Who, had they embraced Chriſtianity, and continued in their Country, as one entire People to this Day, would not have been obliged by their Specifick Judgments and Statutes, wherein their Civil, Criminal and Military Laws conſiſt. No, the whole Deſign of the Goſpel is ſo inconſiſtent with the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, that it is impoſſible for Chriſtians to obſerve ſome, ridiculous to obſerve others, and impious again to obſerve others of their judicial Laws. Of the laſt ſort are all thoſe which GOD gave the *Jews*; as *Carnifices Gentium*, or Executioners of his Wrath upon the ſeven Idolatrous incorrigble Nations, as likewiſe all thoſe Capitals Acts againſt *Idolatry*, as High Treaſon to his Government, and inconſiſtent with the Deſign he had to be King, as well as GOD of the *Jews*, whom he ſet up as a Light among the *Gentiles*, and ſecured them by thoſe great Severities from falling into

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Demonolatry, which was the Catholick Religion of the World.

This was the general Opinion of all Christians, till the *Romanists* began to argue by false Analogy from Things and Persons in the *Jewish*, to Things and Persons under the Christian Dispensation; and from them it was, that the Presbyterians first of all Learn'd to defend Murders, Assassinations, Rebellions and Massacres, as you see this Villain hath done.

Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, mov'd the Princes of *Germany* to cut off *Luther* and the *Lutherans*, because (forsooth) GOD cast *Corah* and his Company down into Hell; and Commanded, That all those should be put to Death that would not Obey the High Priest. And as *Davila* relates in the Ninth Book of his History, the Pope compared the Duke of *Guise*, that Patron of the Cursed League, to *Judas Maccabeus*, and the *Jesuites* complimented him with the name of *Gideon*, and bid him go on and prosper in the name of GOD. According to which damnable Notion of false Zealotry, when they Consecrate an *Assassin* (as *Hospinian* hath proved they sometimes do) to Murder an Heretick Prince, they Solemnly Consecrate him to the Work of the Lord in such a like Form as this, *Thou Elect Son of God, take here the Sword of* Gideon, *the Sword of* Jeptha, *the Sword of* Sampson, *the Sword of* David, *the Sword of the* Maccabees, *go, and be of good Courage, and the Lord strengthen thy Arm.* Can any thing be more like Mr. *Mitchel's* Justification, than this? Would not one think his Soul had entred into that Secret of the *Jesuits*, seeing he hath not Acted only like one of their *Assassins*, but written his Apology with their poyson'd Ink. If Father *Brown* the *Jesuit*, that Preach'd among them so many Years, had Penn'd it, Could it have savour'd stronger of the *Society of Jesus*, or become such an Author better than it doth? He boasted on his Death-bed at *Ingestonbriggs*, that he had Preach'd as down-right Popery in our Field-Conventicle, as ever he had Preach'd in *Rome* it self; and had he been the Author of this Paper, he might also have boasted, to the Comfort of his departing Soul, that he had written as true a Papistical Pamphlet, as ever was written in the *Romish* Church. I think there is great Presumption to Assert, That the Father might help to Indoctrinate *Mitchel* in this Mystery of Iniquity; but if he did not, yet both he and the Author of *Naphthali* might invent these Doctrines without consulting *Jesuits*, seeing it is the *Cabala* of their own Sect.

For this way of Arguing, to do Miſchief from the judicial Law, was the Logick of our moſt Primitive *Presbyterians*, which hath ever ſince cauſed ſo much Ruin and Blood.

For in the Convention at *Edinburgh*, *January* 1560, for Ratification of a new Form of Church-Policy, it was Enacted, That all Monuments and Places of Idolatry, by name, Chapels, Cathedral-Churches and Colleges, ſhould be ſuppreſs'd; whereupon through the Inſtigation of *John Knox* enſued (ſaith my *a* Author) a pitiful Vaſtation of Churches, and Church Buildings; ſo that the Libraries nor Church-Regiſters, nor Sepulchres of the Dead were ſpar'd. And ſome Ill-adviſed Preachers (ſaith he) did Animate the People in their Barbarous proceedings, crying out, That Places, where *Idols* had been Worſhip'd, ought by the Law of GOD to be deſtroy'd; and that the ſparing of them was the reſerving of things Execrable; as if, (he ſubjoyns) the Commandment given to *Iſrael* for Deſtroying the Places where the *Canaanites* did Worſhip their falſe Gods, had been a Warrant for them to do the ſame. I confeſs, the *b Council of Carthage*, in the time of *Honorius*, Decreed, That the Emperors ſhould be Petition'd to raze the Temples, and deſtroy the Reliques of Heathen Idols; but it was becauſe in Maritime, and other Places of *Africk*, Idolatry was yet profeſſed in them; and not from any Senſe of Duty incumbent upon them from the *Moſaic* Law. For that, as well as the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches, had converted the Temples of *Idols* into the Churches of Chriſt; but as for the ſupernumerary, uſeleſs Company of them, which remain'd as Snares, and Monuments of the Dominion which the Devil had had in the World, they thought it both for the Honour and Intereſt of Chriſtianity, that they ſhould be taken away.

In the following Year, 1561, altho' Queen *Mary* had agreed with the Council, That ſhe ſhould have her own Service in her own Chapel, yet the next Day, when the *c* Tapers were carried through the Court, a Zealot of Mr. *Mitchel's* Principles fell upon him that bore them, and broke them all in Pieces; and had not the Tumult been timely ſuppreſs'd by ſome moderate Spirits, abominable Barbarities had enſued: For ſome maintain'd, That if Right were done, her Majeſty's Prieſts ſhould have been ſlain, according to GOD's Law againſt Idolaters. It would be endleſs to

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a *Spotſw.* &c. in *Anno* 1560. L. 3. b *Can.* 62. c *Spotſw.* &c. L. 4. *Anno* 1561.

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trace these Principles down from the time of the Original Presbyterians to these unhappy Days; you may see enough of them in the Parliament Sermons, and innumerable other Pamphlets of the late Times. How often did the late Presbyterian Preachers commend the House of Commons for their Zeal, and ransack the Old Testament for Examples and Precepts to perswade the giddy Vulgar, that the Rebels Fought the Lord's Battels, and that their Cause was his? How often did they Compare the most Active of them to *Gideon*, *Samson* and *Phineas*, and Complement the Worthies of the late Long Parliament in *England*, as *Gregory* the 14th Complimented the last King of *France*, when he raised an Army for the Extirpation of the Protestants, in the glorious Name of the Lord of Hosts. Did not that Darling of the Faction, Mr. *Calamy*, in the bloody Speech which he made in 43, at the *Guildhall* of *London*, to the Citizens, (to perswade them to contribute largely towards the bringing in of our *Scottish* Army) justifie himself from the Objection of his own tender Conscience, that he being a Minister of the Gospel, should stir them up to make War; by taking an Apology from *Numb.* 10. and *Deut.* 20. Where GOD ordain'd, that the Sons of *Aaron*, the Priests, should sound the Alarm with the Silver Trumpets; and that the Priest should make a Speech to encourage the People going out to Battel, to Fight for the Lord of Hosts. So that *Naphthaly Nehushtan*, and *Mitchel's* Papers, are but the last Improvement of the Presbyterian Logick and Zeal; which makes our Conventicle Preachers ride about with Guards, like petty Princes, and their Followers, more like Soldiers than Christians, come Armed by Thousands into the Field.

They are now arriv'd at the highest Pitch of Enthusiasm and Bigotry, and are as ready upon all Occasions, to do as much for the Spiritual Crown of Christ, which they think inconsistent with the Mitre; as the Men of the *Fifth Monarchy* Principles, are ready to do for the Temporal Kingdom of Jesus. So that if GOD in his good Providence had not sent down the Duke of *Lauderdale* among us, to prevent the Storm that was ready to arise; in all human Probability, this Kingdom had been involv'd in such a violent Rebellion, as could not have been quell'd without extraordinal Force. His Grace came hither without any prospect of Trouble; and the incredible numbers of Nobility and Gentry, that throng'd to meet him several Days Journey on *English* ground, were enough to make him presume, that all would be quiet and serene. But he had not been many Days among us, when he

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was surpriz'd with the News of great Insolencies and Disorders, caus'd by the Field-Conventicles in the *West*.

Now, to make you understand what Wind blew up that secret Flame, and how those evil Principles probably came to be put into Fermentation, I must lead you back to the Year 1674, when some, whose Discontents far exceeded their Causes, under the old Pretence of Redressing Grievances, did design something else, and thereby almost render'd the Parliament useless for the Publick Ends, for which it was call'd.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* was then His Majesty's High Commissioner; and there was not one real Grievance, of which he himself did not propose the Removal; nor any one pretended, concerning which he was not willing to Treat: And if it were found to be really such, to have it redress'd in an orderly, fair, and legal Manner, according to the Fundamental Constitutions of the House. But this would not satisfie their Discontents (which enough Demonstrates, that something else was design'd besides the Removal of Grievances) whereupon his Grace returning to Court to give an Account of Affairs to his Royal Master; such great Confusions appeared among us, as naturally follow palliated Discontents. Then did *Welsh*, and other declared Traytors, take the Confidence to Preach openly in *Fife* and *Tiveot-dale*, which before had been orderly Places; and there they were entertain'd, and encourag'd to debauch the People from their Duty to the King, and the Church: And if these bold Attempts and disorderly Practices had not then been timely quell'd by his *Grace*'s Care and Conduct, it is ease to Divine to what imminent Hazard, our Peace and Government had been expos'd.

Whether our Fanaticks were then under-hand encourag'd to commit these Insolencies by designing Male-contents; Time, the Revealer of Secrets, may shew; but it is beyond all Peraduenture, that scandalous and unseasonable Divisions, caus'd by nothing but Envy and Discontent, did then Animate and Embolden them to these turbulent Practices; and therefore it seems not improbable, that the same Discontented Party, envying the Duke his glorious Reception, and the just Esteem he hath with his Prince; and intending to frustrate his best Councils and Endeavours for preserving this, and by Consequence the Kingdom of *England* in Peace, have now conjured up the Phanatical Spirit again, to Act in more insolent Irregularities, than at any time heretofore. But let the Cause be what it will, the Conventicles were never so numerous and frequent, as they now began, and

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ſometime after continued to be in *Fife*, *Clidſdale*, *Tweed-dale*, *Galloway*, *Sterling-ſhire* and *Carrick*; the laſt of which Shires had always been Peaceable and orderly till now, when they all conſpir'd to invade the publick Peace. At theſe Field-Conventicles, would meet ſometimes five or ſix Thouſand, ſometime eight or nine Thouſand at a time, as many of which as were fit to bear Arms, and could provide them, never fail'd to come appointed into the Field. For this Reaſon, our Laws and Proclamations ſtile theſe Field-Meetings, *Rendevouzes* of Rebellion, which is as modeſt a Name as they can deſerve. For moſt of the Principal Preachers among them, as *Welſh* and *Arnott*, are either attainted or declared Traytors, and were Actors in the Rebellion of 66. and the *Harangues* (for I will not call them Sermons) which they make to the People, tend to nothing, but to make them Rebel, and poſſeſs them with Hatred againſt the King and the Church. In *October* laſt, at *Sanchi* in *Carrick*, Mr. *Welſh* attended with ſeven or eight ſeditious Preachers, made a Preachment to the principal Diviſion of a Multitude upwards of 7000 People, upon St. *John* 11. 34, 35. In this Preachment among much other Treaſonable Stuff, he ſpoke theſe Words, *The King, the Nobles and the Prelates, are ſure the Murderers of Chriſt*; and then ſitting down in his Chair, he ſaid, *Oh People, I will be ſilent. Speak O People, and tell me what good the King hath done ſince his home-coming*; *yea, hath he not done all the Miſchief a Tyrant could do?* At another Conventicle not long after, he ſpoke thus, or to this purpoſe, *That he was confident that GOD would yet aſſert the Cauſe of* Pentland-hills, *in ſpite of the Curates* (for ſo they call the Orthodox-Miniſters) *and their Maſters the Prelates*; *and in ſpite of the Prelates and their Maſter the King*; *and in ſpite of the King, and his Maſter the Devil.*

But to proceed, at theſe Field-Meetings, they Adminiſtred the Solemn League and Covenant to the People; and made them Swear never to hear the Orthodox Miniſters more; and in a moſt Popiſh manner, gave them the Sacrament thereupon. They alſo kept Claſſical Meetings, where they Ordain'd Ignorant and Factious Striplings, and by an unparallell'd Act of Schiſm, took the Confidence to Re-ordain one Mr. *John Cuningham*, who was formerly Ordain'd Preſbyter by the late Lord Biſhop of *Galloway*; and likewiſe preſum'd to receive the Hypocritical Confeſſions and Repentence of ſuch as they had perſwaded, or ſuborn'd to confeſs the great Sin of joining in Worſhip with our Church. They admitted Ruling Elders in ſeveral Precincts, and with incom-

Incomparrble Impudence proceeded to Institute and Induct Preachers of their Tribe, both into vacant and full Churches, according to Mr. *Mitchel*'s Judgment; who asserts in his Apology, That every Parish ought to chooſe its Preacher, and that Patronage is but a Popiſh Right. They also confiding in their Numbers, proceeded in manifeſt Contempt of Authority to Erect Preaching-Houſes; particularly in *Carrick* and *Galloway*, where Perſons of no mean Quality and Intereſt, harbour'd and careſs'd thoſe great Apoſtles of the Cauſe, *Welſh* and *Arnott*; who ride about these diſ-affected Shires in great State and Security, with Guards conſiſting of Forty, Fifty, or greater numbers of Horſe. From theſe Inſolencies they proceeded to invade the Houſes, and menace the Perſons of ſome Orthodox Miniſters, whom Mr. *Welſh* declared either in a Conventicle, or *Presbytery*, ſomewhere in *Carrick*, that it was as Lawful to Kill, as for the *Iſraelites* to Kill the *Canaanites*, if they complained to the Men (for ſo he called the Magiſtrates) in Power. Theſe Out-rages ſo frighted the Orthodox-Clergy, that many Miniſters forſook their Charges; and ſome of our Biſhops, who liv'd in thoſe diſtracted Corners, were forced for their Security to repair to this Town. Thus all Things ſeem'd to run into Confuſion; and if excellent Methods had not been uſed to prevent the Sequel of ſuch dangerous Beginnings, the Faction by this Time had grown into a formed Party, and diſputed *the Cauſe* with an Army in the Field.

The firſt Thing the Privy Council did, was to iſſue out Proclamations for the Execution of the Laws againſt theſe Conventicles, and to uſe all Means poſſible for ſeizing the Perſons of *Welſh* and *Arnott*, and other ſeditious Preachers: But the former were render'd ineffectual, the Heritable Sheriff and Bayliffs, and other Officers of the ſeditious Diſtricts refuſing to Act; and the latter could not be brought to Effect, becauſe the Preachers are always ſo ſtrongly guarded in Publick; and in Private, ſhelter themſelves with ſuch ſuperſtitious Adorers of their holy Perſons, as none of the propoſed Rewards can tempt to Betray. Diſorders thus continuing, the Council acquainted His Majeſty with the Dangers they Threatned; and humbly mov'd him to ſend ſpeedy Orders, That a conſiderable Number of his *Iriſh* Troops ſhould march to the Maritime Borders next adjacent to *Galloway*, and the Weſtern Shires, to be ready for Tranſportation if Occaſion requir'd. His Majeſty, who was long ſince acquainted with the Spirit and Principles of our *Remonſtrator-Presbyterians*, in Compliance with the wholeſome Advice of his Privy Council, immediately order'd, That a well

well-appointed Party, of about 3000 Horse and Foot, should be sent under the Conduct of the Loyal and Valiant Viscount of *Grimard*, our Country-man, to Quarter upon the Maritimb Borders, and to March at the Command of the Privy Council here. This particular Care of his Majesty, and the Approach of the Forces, did very much surprize the Fanatical Party, who were made to believe by the Male-contents, that the Duke had no Interest at Court, nor was capable to procure any extrinsical Assistance, although they should Rebel. The *Irish* Forces being Arriv'd upon the Coasts, the Council were resolv'd to try what fair and gentle Means would do; and thereupon directed Letters to the Heritors (whom you call Landlords) of *Aire* and *Renfrew*, to know if they would undertake by their own Power to Reduce these Disorders, having the King's Authority for that Effect. The Heritors met in a full Assembly, and after two Days Consultation, return'd Answer by three Noble Lords, whom the Council had sent to attend them, That they could not undertake by their own Power to keep the Country free from Conventicles, or any Disorders that might ensue thereupon.

You must know that our Landlords have far more Authority over their Tenants, than yours; insomuch, that in the most disaffected Places, there are no Conventicles where the Heritors and Superiors use their private Authority to keep the People constant to the Church. All the World here knows, that there is not a more Fanatical Shire in this Kingdom than *Murray*; and yet by the single Authority and Interest of that most Loyal and Deserving Person the Earl of *Murray*, it is kept in as perfect Order and Obedience, as if there were no Conventicles in the World. But, as for the aforesaid Shires, the Council expected no such Answer from them, because they of all others have had most Indulgence, as having Non-conforming Ministers legally setled in very many Churches among them; which one would think, if that Party had any Reason, Modesty or Conscience, might have kept them from troubling the publick Peace. Therefore the Council having receiv'd such an unreasonable Answer from the Heritors of these more indulged Shires, concluded what Returns they might expect from others; and therefore began now to think it was high time to reduce them to their Duty by Force. Whereupon, knowing that the Body of this Kingdom was Loyal, they resolv'd rather to reduce the Fanaticks by our own intrinsical Power, than to call in his Majesties *Irish* Forces, unless there should be absolute Need. Wherefore, to the King's

King's standing Forces, they added the *Militia* of the most Loyal County of *Angus*, and admitted the *Auxiliary* Forces which several Loyal Lords that have Interest and Authority in the *Highlands*, did proffer to raise out of their Vassals and Dependents for his Majesties special Service in this critical Exigence of Affairs. And by his Majesties special Approbation and Command, they were all United into one Army, under the Conduct of the most Valiant and Loyal Earl of *Lin Lithgow*, who towards the latter End of last *January* march'd into the Western Shires.

And that all things might be transacted in a fair, legal and orderly Manner, there is also sent along with the Army a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Eleven Right Honourable Persons, who are invested with sufficient Power, Civil and Criminal, to punish all sorts of Offenders, and are now stedily pursuing those great Ends for which they were sent thither. There's a strict Correspondence betwixt them and the Privy Council, to whom they send frequent Accounts of their Proceedings; and from whom they receive such Measures and Directions, as may most conduce to reduce and secure those disorderly Shires. To which purpose, in the first Place, they proceed to disarm them, causing all suspected Persons to deliver their Arms (whereof great Provision was made) to their respective Sheriffs upon Oath, who are to deliver them to the Major General, and to be sent by him to his Majesties Garrisons. They have likewise Order to plant Garrisons in what Places soever they shall think fit, and have proceeded to do Execution on the new Built Meeting-houses, those Temples of *Baal Berith*, by Commanding that they should be pull'd down, and that their Materials should be Burnt. They are likewise to tender a *Bond* to be taken by all Heritors; wherein, as Masters of Families, they are to be Bound for themselves, their Wives, Children and Servants; and, as Landlords, for their Tenants and Cottagers, That they shall not go to Conventicles, nor Receive or Supply Conventicle-Ministers, but live orderly in Obedience to the Law; so that if their Wives, or any of their Children or Servants Transgress, they will be bound to undergo the legal Penalties for them. But in case their Tenants or Cottagers Transgress, they will be Bound to Present them to Justice, or turn them off their Tenements, or else to be liable to the Penalties they shall incur.

The

The Form of this Bond, or Civil Anti-covenant, was drawn up by the Privy Council, and is as followeth:

I A. B. *under ſubſcribing, do faithfully bind and oblige me, That I, my Wife, Bairns, and Servants reſpectively, ſhall be no ways preſent at any Conventicles, and diſorderly Meetings in time coming; but ſhall live orderly in Obedience to the Law, under the Penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. As alſo, I bind and oblige me, that my whole Tenants and Cotters reſpectively, their Wives, Bairns and Servants ſhall likewiſe refrain, and abſtain from the ſaid Conventicles, and other illegal Meetings not Authorized by the Law, and that they ſhall live orderly in Obedience to the Law. And further, that I, nor they ſhall Recept, Supply or Commune with forfeited Perſons, intercommuned Miniſters, or vagrant Preachers, but ſhall do our utmoſt endeavour to apprehend their Perſons. And in caſe my ſaid Tenants, Cotters, and their fore-ſaids ſhall Contravene; I ſhall Take or Apprehend any Perſon, or Perſons guilty thereof, and preſent them to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be Fined or Impriſon'd therefore, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. Otherwiſe I ſhall remove them and their Families from off my Ground. And if I ſhall fail herein, I ſhall be liable to ſuch Penalties as the ſaid Delinquents have incurred by the Laws, conſenting to the Regiſtration hereof in the Books of his Majeſty's Privy Council, or Books of any other Judges competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon in Form as Effeirs and Conſtitutes my Procurators.*

This is the Tenor of the Bond; and leſt the Force thereof ſhould be eluded, the Privy Council have declar'd, That every Heritor, that ſhall receive into his Lands or Service, any Tenants or Servants of any other Heritor, without a Certificate from him, or the Miniſter of the Pariſh where they liv'd, that they liv'd orderly as to this Matter, ſhall be ſubject to ſuch Fines as the Privy Council ſhall think fit to inflict, to puniſh them for their Crime, and repair the Damage that ſhall accrue to the Heritor or Maſter, whoſe Tenants or Servants they did receive. All the Lords of the Privy Council and the Judges (whom we call the Senators of the College of Juſtice) together with the Advocates

Writers, and all others belonging to the Society of the Lawyers, have taken this Bond, as alſo the Lords of the Exchequer and the Juſticiary Lords, which is a very prevalent Example; and little doubt is made, but the Generality of the Subjects of the Nation will chearfully Sign it, as being ſo beneficial to Authority, and ſo proper an Expedient to recover the common People into their Wits. And it cannot poſſibly give the leaſt umbrage of Scruple to the Conſcience of the moſt weak and peeviſh Diſſenter; being nothing but a purely civil alternative Obligation, to do what the Law requires, or ſubmit to the Penalties therein contain'd. Perhaps it may ſeem ſtrange in *England*, that a Landlord ſhould be Bound in this manner for his Tenants; but there is nothing more reaſonable and cuſtomary here, becauſe our Heritors have ſuch a deſpotic Power over their Tenants, as you cannot well imagine, unleſs you had liv'd here.

And in caſe any Perſons ſhall finally refuſe to take this Bond (as ſome *Fife* and *Weſtern* Gentlemen have made difficulty at it) the Privy Council (according to the legal and uncontroverted Practice of that Board in all Ages) hath Ordain'd, that Letters ſhall be directed to them, to charge them forthwith to give in Security to his Majeſty's Privy Council, that They, their Wives, Children, Tenants and Servants, ſhall keep his Majeſty's Peace, and particularly that they ſhall not go to Conventicles, nor harbor Rebels nor intercommuned Perſons; and that they ſhall keep the Perſons, Families, and Goods of their regular Miniſters harmleſs, under the double of every Man's valued Yearly Rent, if he have any, or of ſuch Penalties as ſhall be thought Convenient by his Majeſty's Council or their Committee, if they have none; which if they ſhall refuſe to do within ſix Days next after the Charge, they are to be declared his Majeſty's Rebels (as the manner is here) with Sound of an Horn.

To conclude, the Committee is to proceed to the condign Cenſuring of ſuch, as ſhall appear upon Proof to have harboured *Welſh* or *Arnott*, or other intercommuned Perſons, and ſuch alſo as have Invited or Convocated the ſilly People unto the Field-Aſſemblies, under pretence of hearing Sermons, and ſuch as contributed by Money, Work, or Materials to build the new *Samaritan*-Synagogues; two of which the Earl of *Caſſels* was commanded to Demoliſh in *Carrick*, as was his Duty to have done before.

All this hath been done under the wiſe Conduct of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to whoſe preſence among us, next under

under GOD, this poor Church and Religion are redeemable, that they have been preſerved from Confuſion and Blood. And I queſtion not, but his vigorous Endeavours to ſuppreſs this Schiſm (the like whereof in all reſpects, was never yet heard of in any Age or Nation) have by this time, effectually confuted all the lying Reports that were ſent into *England* by our Men of Schiſm and Faction, with a Deſign to render him odious in our Neighbour Countrey, and diſcredit his Adminiſtration here.

But I beg Mr. *Mitchel's*, and your Pardon, for leaving him ſo long. I could not forbear to interſert this Account of his Weſtern Brethren, whoſe Confeſſor he liv'd, and whoſe Martyr he dy'd. I'll now return to viſit him again, and leave him no more till I ſee him in his Grave.

In the Interval betwixt his Condemnation and Execution, he ſeldom ſpoke of his approaching Death, but as of a Martyrdom or Murther; and glory'd that he was accounted worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt. This is the Stile of his ſhort Speech, and the frequent Viſits, Papers and Meſſages that he receiv'd from the Brotherhood, to Dye with Courage in the *Cauſe*; and to Seal the Truth, that is, the *Covenant*, with his Blood; together with the frequent Debauches which he made with Ale, Wine and Brandy, contributed very much to heighten his Obſtination, and make him inſenſible of his Crime.

You cannot imagine, how much the Fanaticks of all Parts were concern'd about him. From the Weſt, a private Meſſage was ſent to the Archbiſhop, to aſſure his Grace, That if Mr. *James Mitchel* were Hang'd, another ſhould not fail to Execute his Deſign. His Majeſty's Advocate, who purſu'd him, receiv'd a threatning anonymous Letter; and the common Talk of this Town was, That Mr. *James Mitchel's* Blood ſhould be Reveng'd upon the whole Order: And truly I doubt not, but if all the Fathers of our Church, and all the Clergy under them, had but one Neck, that there are at leaſt 300 Covenanted *Mitchel's* behind, that would ſtrive to cut it off.

In the Year 1668, when he made the Attempt, the Fanatical Party made a Sport of it; and, as if the Ruin of the Church were to follow upon it, many fair Pretenders, that out of Compliance to Authority, had hitherto given our Biſhops that particular Veneration that was due to their Character, began now to ſlight them, and would ſcarce give them that common Reſpect which was due to other Men. The like Charge was obſerv'd upon the late Inſolencies of the *Whigs* in the *Weſt*; the Reſpect of our Biſhops

and Episcopal Clergy, began visibly to decay, and some that were then in a Condition to do the Faction a kindness, had the Confidence to say, That they knew no Reason there was to oppose the Inclinations of the People, to support about a *dozen Men.*

And while this Martyr of Iniquity lay in Goal, the Mouths of our Fanaticks were full of Railing against the Bishops; and the Rascality, who are often taught to speak the sence of greater Persons, were hear'd to say, That it were better the Primate should be Hang'd than he. In the *Octave* betwixt his Sentence and Execution, he receiv'd, as I was credibly inform'd, 400 Dollars in private Gifts, which was interpreted by the Party for the particular Care that GOD had of him, who never sees *the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread.*

The Day before his Execution, he sent to the Provost, or Mayor of *Edinburgh*, to desire a Stage larger than ordinary, because he had a great number of Friends, that intended to appear at his Execution in Mourning; but his Lordship was more honest and prudent, than to grant the vain-glorious Villain his desire. When he was upon the Ladder, he called a *Psalm* to be sung. When the *Psalm* was ended, he took out of his *Psalm*-book two Copies of his intended Speech, which he threw among the People; for there had he put them to elude the search. After his Body was cut down, it was conveigh'd to *Magdalen*-Chapel; from whence it was carried to Burial in great Pomp, being attended with at least 40 Mourners, whereof the *Justice General's Gentleman* was one. 'Tis reported also, that the Hearse-Cloth was of Velvet, but certain it is, it was more than ordinary brave.

The Evening before his Execution, Information was brought to the Provost, That the Women of *Edinburgh* (I mean the Fanatical Part of them) had enter'd into a Conspiracy to rescue him between the Prison and the Gallows; which obliged his Lordship to provide extraordinary Guards, capable to prevent any such Design. This Information was well grounded, if it were not true; for there was never seen such an Appearance of that Sex at any Execution, as was at his, where a Body of at least seven Hundred Sisters stood together almost in *Rank* and *File.*

The next Morning after his Execution, there were several Copies of his Speech distributed, and Verses put up in several Places of the City.

The following Satyr in *Scottish* I got a Copy of, which I here present unto you, Entitled as it was, to the Memory of Mr. *James Mitchel.*

YOU O-Y-ES O-y-es Covenanters,
Filthy, Cruel, lying Ranters;
Come here, and see your murdering Martyr
Sent to Hell i'th' Hangman's Garter;
Your Sealing Witnesses we hear
Are Mr. James Mitchel *and Major* Weir;
One with his Hand, but had no Pith,
Th'other your Wives know well wherewith;
Which makes them sigh, and sighing say,
Welsh can but Preach, but Weir could Pray.
It's this that all Religion shames,
To give Hell's Vices Heavenly names,
Then Devils, then cast off your Masks;
Murder and Whoredom are your Tasks,
Which you to all the World proclaim,
Boasting and Glorying in your Shame.
And say your Covenant doth allow
This, Maugre your Baptismal Vow;
And that the holy Oath doth bind you,
To leave such holy Seed behind you.
For at, and after your long Prayers,
You lye together Pairs by Pairs;
And every private Meeting Place
Is made a Bawdy-house of Grace;
You shew it is your loving Natures,
To be sweet fellow-feeling Creatures,
But to prefume your Holy Orders,
With Incest, Buggery and Murders,
Is plainly to proclaim you Devils,
And horrid Crimes to be no Evils;
Mas. James Mitchel *lay's down his Arms*
In Griffald's *House with Major* Weirs;
And from his Ghostly Father learns
To lye with Women and get no Bairns,
The Mystery of the Tribe, a Trick
Makes all the Women mad Fanatick;
And now they both in Hell are met,
Where for your Company they wait.

Then

Then fill your Meaſure, and poſt on
To your deſerv'd Damnation.
Go Whore and Bugger, Kill and Pray,
Till every Dog ſhall have his Day;
Or go together to Hell in Troops,
Elſe ſtrive for new Graſs-market Loops.
He that Whores beſt, and Murders moſt,
Of him the Sect ſhall always boaſt;
And put him, as they've put Mas James,
Among their Saints and Martyrs Names.

YOU ſee the *Weſt* is a Place above all others of this Kingdom, wherein Fanaticiſm moſt abounds. This muſt needs awaken your Curioſity to enquire from what Magnetiſm it is, that our Conventicle-preachers have acquir'd ſuch a ſtrong Verticity to that Point. Truly, the Reaſon is the ſame for which yours haunt *London*, and the moſt opulent Towns and Counties of *England*, even the Riches of the Place. There's a neceſſity laid upon them to Preach the Goſpel there; yea, wo unto them if they Preach it not in *Fife* and the *Weſt*, where ſo many Rich Traders, and Heritors live. But as for the *Highlands*, and other poorer Counties, they have no Chriſtian Compaſſion for them, but let them live and dye in *Ignorance* and *Idolatry*; becauſe their Souls are not ſo precious for want of Silver and Gold. I remember when I was at *London* in 76. I heard a Famous Conventicle Miniſter ſay, That if it were not for the Non-conforming Miniſters, Thouſands of Souls in that populous City, would ſtarve for want of the Word. I very much wonder'd to hear him ſay ſo, conſidering how many Hundred Sermons were Preached every Week by the Orthodox Miniſters, and the beſt, I thought, that ever I had heard. But being the next Day in ſome Company, which was diſcourſing about the Conventicles, one or two of them began to tell of the great ſtore of Money the Conventicle-Preachers had in the *Banks*, and how ſome of them kept their Coaches, and he believ'd it would not be long e're their Wives kept their Chairs. Then I began to underſtand the Reaſon of the great Care thoſe Gentlemen had to feed the Souls of the good Citizens; and was very glad, that to keep a Coach was no longer a ſign of *Prelatical Pride*. When I return'd home, I told our *Whigs*, that the Non-conformiſts Miniſters of *London* began to keep Coaches; but the greateſt part of them would not believe me; and thoſe that did, ſaid with ſighs, they were ſorry, that there were

were *Diotrephefes* among them, that lov'd the Pre-eminence, and that GOD would have a Controverſie with them for their *Prelatical Pride*. The like I have ſeen in a Preface to a *Presbyterian* Treatiſe of Divinity, Printed about that Time, wherein the Author complains of the *Prelatical Spirit*, that began to ſhew it ſelf among the Non-conforming Miniſters; whereof ſome living in great Plenty and State, contemned others who were Poor, and whoſe Lot was fallen in Places, where Perſecution did abound.

In the *Scottiſh* Verſes, you ſee the Poet upbraids their Baptiſmal Vow with the Covenant; not, as I conceive, upon the common Account, as another Poet may do, but becauſe 'tis the frequent Practice of our *Whig-Preachers* to Baptize the Children of their Diſciples into the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as well as into the *Covenant of Grace*. He alſo takes Notice of the intimate Familiarity betwixt Mr. *Mitchel* and Major *Weir*; and unleſs you will be at the Pains to read the Life of the latter, as well as the former, you'll never be able to underſtand the Satyr, nor know whether the Satyriſt's Indignation be juſt or unjuſt. I'll promiſe you the Narrative ſhall affect you both with Wonder and Indignation; tho' for the Honour of our Nature and Religion, I wiſh no ſuch Stories were extant in the World. Nay, confident I am, that when you have conſider'd it in all the Circumſtances that attend it, you will ſay, that he was one of the moſt prodigious Sinners that ever was extant of human Race: For there's nothing in Hiſtory comparable to him, nor I hope will ever be; and had not our Bleſſed Saviour told us, that Men may be ſo wicked, as to Sin beyond Forgiveneſs, I could ſcarce have believ'd that any Man, much leſs a Chriſtian, could have committed *Uncleanneſs* in all Species, with Women, Devils and Beaſts.

But ſuch a Monſter was this *Phariſee*, of whom I am going to give you an Account; which is taken out of the public Regiſter of our Criminal Court, and the Authority of Perſons of known Integrity, and great Reputation in the World.

Thomas Weir was Born and Bred in the Weſtern Parts of this Kingdom; where he was early prepoſſeſſed with the Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion, which he ſhew'd upon all occaſions, particularly in the Beginning of the late Rebellion, wherein he was a forward Stickler, and by his extraordinary Zeal for the *Cauſe*, raiſed himſelf to a greater Command in ſome Troop or Company, than Men of his mean Original uſe to arrive unto here. About the Year 1649, he had the great Truſt of the Guards of this City com-

committed unto him under the Quality of *Major*; and from that time to the Day of his infamous Death, was always called by the Name of Major *Weir*. He behav'd himself in this Office with great Cruelty and Insolence towards the Loyal Party, being very active in discovering and apprehending the Cavaliers, and bringing them to be Arraign'd and Try'd for their Lives. He used to Insult and Triumph over them in their Miseries, and Persecute them with all manner of Sarcasms and Reproaches, when they were led out like Victims to publick Execution; as many yet alive can testifie to the World. In particular, this barbarous Villain treated the Heroick Marquess of *Montross*, with all imaginable Insolence and Inhumanity when he lay in Prison; making his very Calamities an Argument, that GOD, as well as Man, had forsaken him; and calling him *Dog*, *Atheist*, *Trayter*, *Apostate*, *Excommunicate Wretch*, and many more such intollerable Names. This cruel Manner after which he used to outrage the poor Royalists, pass'd among the People for extraordinary Zeal; and made them consider him as a singular Worthy, whom GOD had raised up to support the *Cause*. He studied the Art of Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, always affecting a formal Gravity and Demureness in his Looks and Deportment; and employing a vast and tenacious Memory, which GOD had given him, in getting without Book, such Words and Phrases of the Holy Scriptures, as might serve best in all Companies to make him pass for an Holy and Gifted Man. He had acquir'd a particular Gracefulness in Whining and Sighing, above any of the sacred Clan; and had learn'd to deliver himself upon all serious Occasions, in a far more ravishing Accent, than any of their Ministers could attain unto. By these, and other Hypocritical Arts, he had got such a Name for Sanctity and Devotion, that happy was the Man with whom he would converse, and blessed was the Family in which he would vouchsafe to Pray.

For he pretended to Pray only in the Families of such as were Saints of the highest Form; insomuch, that the Brethren and Sisters of these Precincts, would strive who should have him to Exercise in their Houses; and of those that liv'd at a greater distance, some would come forty or fifty Miles to have the Happiness to hear him Pray. He had indeed, but by what Assistance will be seen hereafter, a wonderful fluency in extemporary Prayer, and what thro' Enthusiastical Phrases, Extasies and Raptures, into which he would appear Transported, he made the amazed People presume he was actuated by the Spirit of GOD. Besides

praying

praying, he uſed to Exhort and Bleſs the Families in which he Pray'd; but he never undertook to Preach in them, for fear of invading the Miniſterial Province, which certainly would have offended the *Kirk*.

After this Manner, and in this mighty Reputation he liv'd till the Year 1670, which was the 70*th* Year of his Age: When, like the Tyrant *Tiberius*, after ſo many Murthers, and ſorts of unnatural Luſts, he was no longer able to endure the Remorſe of his awakened Conſcience, but to eaſe the Inquietudes of his guilty Mind, was forced to accuſe himſelf, which he firſt of all did among thoſe of his own Party, and deſir'd them to bring him to publick Juſtice to expiate for his abominable Crimes. But they, conſidering what a confounding Scandal and Diſhonour, the Hypocriſie of ſuch an eminent Profeſſor would reflect upon the whole Sect, did with all poſſible Care and Induſtry, ſtrive to conceal the *Major*'s Condition, which they did for ſeveral Months, till one of their own Miniſters, whom they eſteem'd more forward than wiſe, Reveal'd the Secret to the Lord *Abbotſhall*, then Provoſt of *Edinburgh*; who judging human Nature uncapable of ſuch horrid Crimes, as the Miniſter told him the *Major* had confeſſed, concluded he was fallen into a Phrenzy, or high degree of Melancholy; and therefore courteouſly ſent ſome Phyſicians of his own Perſwaſion and Acquaintance, to viſit him, and Phyſick him for his diſtemper'd Brain. But the Phyſicians, returning to the Provoſt, aſſur'd him, That the *Major* was in good Health, and that he was free of Hypocondriack Diſtempers, and had as ſound Intellectuals as ever; and that they believ'd his Diſtemper was only an exulcerated Conſcience, which could not be eas'd, till he was brought to condign Puniſhment, as with Cryings and Roarings, he deſir'd to be. Afterwards the Provoſt, for his further ſatisfaction, ſent ſome Conventicle-Miniſters to enquire into his Condition, and make a report thereof; who finding it impoſſible to diſguiſe the Matter, which now was Town-talk, told his Lordſhip, That the *Major* was not affected with Melancholy, but that the Terrors of GOD, which were upon his Soul, urg'd him to Confeſs, and Accuſe himſelf. The Provoſt therefore began to conclude, that he had good grounds to take publick Notice of this Affair; and therefore without further Enquiry, ſent the Guards of the City to ſeize upon the *Major* and his Siſter, who was involv'd in his Confeſſions, and carry them both to the publick Goal. There they were viſited by Perſons of all Sorts and Qualities, Clergy-men, Lay-men, Phyſicians,

Lawyers, Conforming and Non-conforming Miniſters, who all flock'd thither to ſee this Monſter, and Diſcourſe with him about his horrible Crimes.

They had not been long in Priſon, before they were brought to Tryal, which was on the Ninth of *April*, 1670. They were Try'd before that Learned Civilian, Mr. *William Murray* and Mr. *John Preſtoune*, Advocates, who were made Judges by Commiſſion for that Time. They were Purſued by his Majeſty's laſt Advocate, Sir *John Nisbett*, and the Jury by which they were Try'd, was *Gideon Shaw* Stationer; *James Penderer*, Vintner; *James Thompſon*, Felt-maker; *Robert Brown*, Stationer; *James Brown*, Felt-maker; *Robert Johnſton*, Skinner; *John Cleghorn*, Merchant; with many more ſufficient Citizens of *Edinburgh*, moſt of which, together with the greater part of the Witneſſes hereafter mention'd, are yet alive.

The Court being ſet, the *Major*'s Indictment was read, the Sum of which was contain'd in theſe Four Particulars;

Firſt, *That he Enticed and Attempted to Defile his* German *Siſter*, Jane Weir, *when ſhe was but ten Years Old, or thereabout; and that he lay with her when ſhe was ſixteen Years Old, while they both dwelt with their Father; and afterwards had frequent carnal Dealing with her in the Houſe of* Wicket-Shaw, *in her younger Years: And laſtly, That after ſhe was forty Years Old, he lived in a State of Inceſt with her, in his Houſe at* Edinburgh, *where they dwelt together many Years.*

Secondly, *That he committed Inceſt with* Margaret Bourdon *Daughter to* Mein, *his Deceaſed Wife.*

Thirdly, *That he committed frequent Adulteries during the Life of his ſaid Wife, both with Married and Unmarried Women; and particularly with* Beſſy Weems, *his Servant-Maid, whom he kept in his Houſe for the ſpace of twenty Years, during which time, he lay with her as familiarly as if ſhe had been his Wife.*

Fourthly, *That to his Fornications, Adulteries and Inceſts, he proceeded to add the Unnatural Sin of Beaſtiality, in lying with* Mares *and* Cows; *particularly in Polluting himſelf with a* Mare *upon which he rode into the Weſt Country, near* New-Mills. *All which Crimes particularix'd in manner aforeſaid, he acknowledged judicially at the Bar.*

The Sum of his Siſter's Indictment, is reducible to theſe two Heads, Firſt, *To the Charge of Inceſt, which ſhe committed with her Brother:* And Secondly, *To the Charge of Sorcery and Witchcraft, but moſt eſpecially of conſulting Witches, Necromancers and Devils; and yet more particularly for keeping and converſing with a Familiar Spirit, while ſhe liv'd at* Dal-

keith,

keith, *which us'd to Spin extraordinary quantities of Yarn for her, in a ſhorter time than three or four Women could have done the ſame. All which ſhe judicially confeſſed in the Face of the Court.*

Then they proceeded to Swear the Witneſſes, which the Lord Advocate call'd for further Probation againſt them both. Of theſe, *John Olipant*, *William Johnſton* and *Archibald Hamilton*, Aldermen of *Edinburgh* Depon'd, That on the *Monday* preceeding the *Major's* Arraignment, he did freely confeſs and declare unto them, That he had committed frequent Inceſts with his Siſter *Jane*; divers Fornications and Adulteries with other Perſons; and Beaſtiality with a *Mare* and a *Cow*. Maſter *John Sinclar*, a Conventicle-Miniſter, Depon'd, That the Day before his Tryal, he freely confeſſed unto him, that he was guilty of Adultery, Inceſt and Beaſtiality; and that his Siſter had been often taken out of Bed from him: Whereupon asking him if he had ever ſeen the Devil, he anſwer'd, That he had felt him in the Dark. But as to his Converſation with the Devil, the Deponent might have declared more; for he had confeſſed to him and many others, particularly to the Lord Biſhop of *Galloway*, then Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, that he had lain with the Devil in the ſhape of a Beautiful Woman.

Margaret Weir, Wife to *Alexander Weir*, Bookſeller in *Edinburgh*, Teſtify'd, That when ſhe was of the Age of 27 Years, or thereabouts, ſhe found the *Major* her Brother, and her Siſter *Jane*, lying together in the Barn at *Wicket-Shaw*; and that they were both Naked in the Bed together, and that ſhe was above him, and that the Bed did Shake, and that ſhe heard ſome ſcandalous Language between them in particular, that her Siſter ſaid, ſhe was confident ſhe ſhould prove with Child. Furthermore, ſhe Deponed, That *Catharine Cooper*, a Servant of the *Major's*, told her, That he had lain with *Margaret Bourdon* his Wife's Daughter, ſo that ſhe would ſtay no longer in the Houſe.

Anne, Wife to *James Simpſon*, Bookbinder in *Edinburgh*, declared, That on *Monday* preceding, and that Day in the Morning, that he confeſſed to her he had committed Inceſt with his Siſter *Jane*, and *Margaret Bourdon* his Wife's Daughter; as likewiſe Beaſtiality with a *Mare* in the Weſt Country; and that he had Carnally converſed with his Maid-ſervant *Beſſy Weems* for two and twenty Years.

Mr. *Archibald Nisbett*, Writer to the Signet, Declared, That in the Year 51 or 52, it was reported in the Country, that the *Major* had committed Beſtiality with a *Mare* near

Mills; and that he heard it reported the same Day, in which it was said he did the Fact. Mr. *John Alexander* of *Leith*, Deponed the same, and said he was then but half a Mile from the Place. After these Depositions, the *Major* being Examin'd about his Act of Beastiality, declared, That a Gentleman having given him a Mare, he rode upon her into the West-Country to see some Friends, and dealt Carnally with her near *New-Mills*; and that a Woman saw him in the Act, and complained of him to Mr. *John Nave* the Minister of *New-Mills*; at whose instance he was brought back to the Place by some Soldiers, but was there dismissed for want of further Probation. And further being asked about the time, he answer'd, That to the best of his Remembrance, it was when the Lords, Gentlemen, and Heritors were taken by the *English* at *Elliot*.

As for Probation against *Jane Weir*, the Lord Advocate insisted on her own Declaration, and all the Depositions, in which as a Party she was involv'd. And being asked if she knew any thing concerning the Correspondence that was said to be betwixt the Devil and her Brother; she declared, that she had a long time been jealous of it, but was not certain; and that six or seven Years before, she had found a Mark upon his Shoulder, like that which is called the Devil's Mark, at which she was sore afraid.

The Process being thus Ended, the Jury did unanimously find the *Major* Guilty of Incest with his Sister, and Beastiality with a Mare and with a Cow, and found him Guilty of Adultery and Fornication by a Plurality of Votes. They also unanimously brought in *Jane* Guilty of Incest with her Brother; whereupon the Deputed Judges Sentenced him to be Strangl'd at a Stake betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, on *Monday* following the 11*th* of *April*, and his Body to be Burnt to Ashes; and Condemned her to be Hang'd on the *Tuesday* following, in the *Grass-Market* of *Edinburgh*.

Thus far have I given you a *juridical* Account of the detestable Crimes of this Hypocritical Monstrous Man; I now proceed to acquaint you with some other particulars, no less surprizing than the former; which upon strict enquiry I have Reason to believe to be as true, as those that are judicially prov'd.

When they were seiz'd, she desir'd the Guards to keep him from laying hold on a certain Staff, which, she said, if he chanc'd to get into his Hand, he would certainly drive them all out of Doors, notwithstanding all the Resistance they could make. This Magical-Staff was all of one piece, with a crooked Head of Thorn-wood: She said

ſaid he receiv'd it of the Devil, and did many wonderful things with it; particularly that he uſed to lean upon it in his Hypocritical Prayers; and after they were Committed, ſhe ſtill deſir'd it might be kept from him; becauſe if he were once Maſter of it again, he would certainly grow Obdurate, and retract the Confeſſions which he had ſo publickly made. *Apollonius Thyaneus* had ſuch a Magical Staff as this, which I believe was a Sacramental Symbol which the Devil gave to the *Major*, and the Court had ſome ſuch Apprehenſions of it, for it was order'd by the Judges to be Burnt with his Body.

She alſo confeſſed in Priſon, That ſhe and her Brother had made a Compact with the Devil; and that on the *7th* of *September*, 1648, they were both Tranſported from *Edinburgh* to *Muſſelborough*, and back again, in a Coach and ſix Horſes, which ſeemed all on Fire, and that the Devil then told the *Major* of the defeat of our Army at *Preſton* in *England*; which he confidently reported in moſt of its Circumſtances ſeveral Days before the News had Arrived here. This Prediction did much increaſe the high Opinion the People began to have of him, and ſerved him to make them believe, that, like *Moſes*, he had been with GOD in the *Mount*, and had a Spirit of Propheſie as well as of Prayer. But as for her Self, ſhe ſaid, She never receiv'd any other Benefit by her Commerce with the Devil, than a conſtant ſupply of an extraordinary quantity of Yarn, which ſhe was ſure (ſhe ſaid) to find ready for her upon the Spindle, what ever Buſineſs ſhe had been about.

Beſides the Beſtialities which the *Major* judicially acknowledged he had Committed with the Mare and Cow, he confeſſed he had done the ſame Abominations with three Species more; and the Woman that delated him for the Fact near *New-Mills*, was by order of the Magiſtrates of *Lanerk*, Whipp'd through the Town by the Hand of the Common Hang-man, as a Slanderer of ſuch an eminent holy Man.

The Fornications and Adulteries which this *ἀλοὺς ἐνόμενος* (as Buggerers are † call'd by the Council of *Ancyra*) Committed with the moſt Sanctimonius and Zealous Women of the Sect, are too numerous to be related here. He had got himſelf the Privilege, under a pretence of Praying and Exhortation, to go to their Houſes, and into their Bed-Chambers when he pleas'd; and it was his Practice to viſit Married Women at ſuch times eſpecially as their Husbands were

† *Can.* 16.

were from Home: One especially, who liv'd in the Street called the *West-bow* in *Edinburgh*; he had several times sollicited in her Husband's Absence to gratifie his unclean Desires; till at last, wearied out with his Importunity, she told him how she abhorr'd his Design, and charg'd him never to come more to her House. Upon this he forbore to visit her for some time, till one Night, when she was undress'd and ready to step into Bed, the *Major* suddenly appears standing by her, at which she was so extreamly frighted, that she fell into a Swoun; she had no sooner recover'd, but the *Major* endeavour'd to comfort and assure her, and confirm her against that strange surprize; and renewing his Addresses, he Tempted her with many Arguments and filthy Speeches, and Gesticulations, telling her he had taken that Marvellous way of appearing in Private with her, on purpose to secure her Reputation; that he would go out of her House in a manner as invisible as he came in. But she by this time having recover'd her usual Courage and Strength, push'd him off with violence, and cry'd out for help to her Maid; upon which he immediately disappear'd. The Windows and Doors were all close shut, and I make little doubt, but his Coachman to the fiery Coach, conveigh'd him in and out through the Chimney, or perhaps by the Door, which the cursed Familiar might open and shut again, as well as the Angel of the Lord did unlock and lock the Prison-Door, wherein the Apostles were put.

As for the miserable Woman, she was never well after this Magical manner of Address, which the lusty *Satyr* made unto her; but immediately fell into a deep Melancholy, which ended in a languishing Sickness, whereof not many Weeks after she Died. And when she was upon her Death-bed, she declared this strange Story to many Persons yet alive, of great Integrity, Wisdom and Fame.

I have already told you, what an active Rebel this Multiform Sinner was; but I forgot to tell you, that he was an eminent Promoter of the *Western Remonstrance* in the Year 1650. To these Principles he stuck as close, as to the Devil himself; insomuch, that when the Government of our Church was Restor'd, he avowedly renounced the Communion of it, and endeavour'd to widen the Schism to the utmost of his Power. He could not so much as indure to look upon an Orthodox Minister, but when he met any of them in the Streets, he would pull his Hat over his Eyes in a Pharisaical kind of Indignation and Contempt.

While

While he was in Prison, he acknowledged his Hypocrisie, by which he had deluded Men and mock'd GOD; declaring, that in all his Life he had never prayed to GOD in private, nor had any Power to speak when he attempted to do it; although he had such an extraordinary and charming Utterance in his solemn Conventicle-Prayers. He also confessed, that he never bow'd his Knee to GOD at his own, or other Mens Prayers; which exactly agrees with his Sisters Relation, of his leaning at his Prayers on his Magical-Staff; and none of his own Party can Remember that at any Devotion, even when he seem'd most Rapturous, they ever saw him Kneel. Nay, furthermore, he confessed, which I cannot mention without horror, that his fluency in Prayer, by which he ravish'd the People, proceeded from the Assistance of the Devil; who, he said, helped him to the Words and Phrases in which he expressed himself. This hath given several Men several ways of Conjecture how it could be done. Some who knew him better than I ever had the unhappiness to do, are of Opinion, that he was the praying Oracle of the Devil, out of whom he Personally spoke. The Reason which they alledge for their Conjecture is, that sometimes the Sound of his Voice, like the sight of Spirits, had something unnatural in it, as if it had not been form'd by the Organs of Speech.

Others think it Reasonable to believe, That he saw all the Words and Expressions in his Prayer successively written by the Devil in the Air. But upon Enquiry, I find that he, like most of the *Extemporarians*, commonly prayed with his Eyes shut; which if it be true, this Hypothesis will never be able to solve those Diabolical *Phænomena* in the Air.

Some again think, That the Words and Expessions of his Prayer, were represented by the Devil upon the Stage of his Fancy, after the same manner, as when a Man Dreams he reads such a Letter or Book. But he never was affected with any Consternations, Tremblings, or Abreptions of Mind, which both in true and false Prophets, were the constant Effects of such strong and violent Impressions, as were requir'd to exhibit such unwonted Representations upon the Imagination; nor after his long Prayers were ended, were his natural Strength or Spirits exhausted, as, if his Devotion had been *Visionary*, they must have been.

Others therefore, considering him as an Apostate from GOD, and as a Vassal and Apostle of the Devil, think it very agreeable to Divinity to assert, That he was immediately

diately, but yet without much violence, inspir'd by the Devil, and helped by him both in the Conception and Utterance of his Prayers. This they conceive, the Evil Spirit might do, like an *assistant Form*, by impregnating his Fancy with Enthusiastical Conceptions, and thereby rendring his Imagination very turgent, and ready to swell above its Banks; which being done by the immediate Operation of the *Evil Spirit*, the wretched *Creature* could not fail to burst forth *in Flumine Orationis*, or a full Torrent of Prayer; and likewise be affected with such moderate Raptures, as yet left him in a condition to understand what he said. Furthermore, to prevent all possible Objections, they say, That if GOD suffer'd the Devil to counterfeit Prophetical Visions, or the true Spirit of Prophecy under the Law, then they know no Reason, why it should be thought inconsistent with his Goodness, or disagreeable to his infinite Wisdom, to permit him under the Gospel, to counterfeit Inspiration, or the true Spirit of Prayer. But for my own part, had not the Monster himself ascribed his fluency in Devotion to the Assistance of the Devil, I should have wholly ascribed it to the Vigour of his own Enthusiastical Imagination, without any foreign Force. For not only his fluency in Prayer, but the moderate Raptures, and little extatick Fits, into which he was Transported, are explicable by the natural Power of unassisted Imagination, as I could make it out by many Examples; and where a natural Cause alone is sufficient to account for any Effect, I am always sparing to joyn with it a Supernatural Cause.

All the while he was in Prison, he lay under violent Apprehensions of the heavy Wrath of GOD, which put him into that which is properly called Despair; a Despair which made him hate GOD, and desist from Duty to him, and with which the damned Souls in Hell are reasonably supposed to be constantly affected. In this Sense he was desperate, and therefore would admit neither *Church* nor *Convenient Ministers* to Pray for him, or Discourse with him about the infinite Mercy of GOD, and the Possibility of the Forgiveness of his Sins. Much less could he endure to be Exhorted to Repent, or be brought to entertain any Thoughts of Repentance; telling all the World, that he had Sinned himself beyond all Possibility of Repentance and Pardon; that he was already Damn'd; that he was sure his Condemnation to Eternal Burnings was already pronounced in Heaven, and that the United Prayers of all the Saints in Heaven and Earth, would be vain and insignificant, if they were offer'd to GOD in his behalf. So that when some

Charitable

Charitable Miniſters of the City, by Name the preſent Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Dean of *Edinburgh*, were reſolv'd to Pray before him for his Repentance and Pardon, againſt his Conſent, he was with much difficulty with-held from interrupting of them in their Devotions, and the poſture he put himſelf in when they began to Pray, was to lye upon his Bed in a moſt ſtupid manner, with his Mouth wide open; and when Prayers were ended, being ask'd if he had heard them and attended to them, he told them, *They were very troubleſome, and cruel to him; and that he neither heard their Devotion, nor cared for it, nor could be the better for all the Prayers that Men or Angels could offer up to Heaven upon his Account.*

It was his Intereſt to believe there was no GOD; and therefore to eaſe the Torments of his Mind, he attempted now and then to comfort, and flatter up himſelf into this abſurd belief. For he was ſometimes obſerv'd to ſpeak very doubtfully about his Exiſtence; in particular to ſay, That if it were not for the Terrors which he found Tormenting him within, he ſhould ſcarce believe there was a GOD.

Being with great Tenderneſs and Compaſſion beſought by one of the City-Miniſters, that he would not ſo reſolvedly deſtroy himſelf, by deſpairing of GOD's Mercy, which upon Repentance had been granted to Murtherers, Adulterers, Sodomiſts, Beſtialiſts, nay, to thoſe that had deny'd Chriſt; he reply'd, in Anger, *Trouble me no more with your beſeeching of me to Repent, for I know my Sentence of Damnation is already ſeal'd in Heaven; and I feel my ſelf ſo hardned within, that if I might obtain Pardon of GOD, and all the glories of Heaven for a ſingle wiſh that I had not committed the Sins, with the ſence whereof I am ſo tormented, yet I could not prevail with my ſelf to make that ſingle wiſh. And were your Soul in my Soul's ſtead, you would find your Exhortations impertinent and troubleſome, for I find nothing within me but Blackneſs and Darkneſs, Brimſtone and Burning to the bottom of Hell.* I have been told by very credible Perſons, that the Body of this unclean Beaſt gave manifeſt Tokens of its impurity, as ſoon as it began to be heated by the Flames; and certain it is, that after it was Burnt, a Report was preſently ſent from hence to the Brethren in the *Weſt*, that the Malefactor, who was Burnt for ſuch execrable Crimes, was not *Major Weir*, but another Perſon who exactly reſembled him, and whom the wicked *Prelates* and *Curates* had Bribed to Perſonate the Godly *Major* (who was ſaid to be gone with a Contribution to the exiled Brethren in *Holland*) and call himſelf by his Name, This

Report was believ'd in the *West* for ſeveral Months, till time diſcover'd that the *Major* was no more.

As for *Jane*, this incarnate Devil's Siſter, ſhe was very inſenſible of her great Sins, and was ſo far from Remorſe of Conſcience for them, and Deſpairing of the Mercy of GOD, as ſhe did, that ſhe preſum'd too much upon it; placing a great deal of Confidence in her conſtant adherence to the *Covenant*, which ſhe call'd in her Brother *Mitchel's* Stile, *The Cauſe and Intereſt of Chriſt*. She confeſſed indeed, as he did, that her Sins deſerv'd a worſe Death than ſhe was condemn'd to Dye; but ſhe never ſhew'd her ſelf in the leaſt concern'd for what might enſue after Death. When ſhe was upon the Ladder, ſhe beſpoke the People in the following Words, *I ſee a great Croud of People come hither to Day to behold a poor old miſerable Creatures Death, but I trow there be few among you, who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant*: And having ſo ſpoken, ſhe threw her ſelf in greater haſte off the Ladder than a Perſon ſhould have done, who was no better prepar'd for another World.

I could tell you many more remarkable Stories of our *Fanatick Zealots*, that have been put to Death for lying with Beaſts, and other unnatural Crimes. One not many Years ſince was put to Death at *Sterling* for committing Uncleanneſs with five individual, among which there were four Species of irrational Animals; and immediately before his Execution, the unclean Wretch proteſted againſt the *Prelates*, and boaſted of his conſtant Zeal for the *Covenant*; and ſo without declaring any Deteſtations of his Crimes, or deſiring the People to Pray for him, went off with all Aſſurance into the other World. I ſhould not have related any of theſe Stories, with Reflection on the Schiſmatical Party, but that nine parts in ten of the horrid Sins, ſuch as *Witchcraft*, *Beaſtiality* and *Inceſt*, are found among them; which hath occaſion'd a Proverbial Sarcaſm in our Language againſt them, *That the Whigs go to Heaven a Gate of their own*. This is no Hyperbole, but a plain Hiſtorical Truth, which our Judges can teſtifie, and which may be confirm'd by the Regiſters of our Criminal Courts.

And then as for Adulteries and Fornications, thoſe common Failings of theſe Phariſees; there are more of them committed, and more Baſtards Born within their Country, the Weſtern *Holy Land* than in all our Nation beſides. This is evident from comparing the Pariſh Regiſters, and the Regiſters of the Presbyteries, or Rural Deaneries of thoſe Shires, with the reſt of the Pariſh, and Presbytery Regiſters in every Dioceſs of the Church. Not very long

ſince,

ſince, in a Pariſh within the Presbytery of *Paſely*, there were no fewer than 17 *Whigs*, who did publick Penance for Fornications and Adulteries, at one time. The Pariſh is very diſaffected, ſo that on that Lord's Day, wherein this Herd of Goats did ſtand in the Seat of publick Repentance; there were but two Regular Perſons, beſides the Miniſter and Precentor in the Church. I know you are already wondering, that Fanatical Sinners will do Penance in the *Kirk*, which is as ſerious and ſolemn a piece of Worſhip, as any belongs to the Service of GOD.

Therefore to unriddle the *Paradox* unto you, be pleas'd to take Notice, That if any Fornicator, Adulterer, &c. Contumaciouſly refuſe to ſubmit to Church-Cenſure, his Majeſty's Advocate is to purſue him before the Supreme Judicature, or Lords of the Seſſion; who, upon Evidence of his Contumacy, iſſue out Order for having him declar'd the *King's Rebel*, that is, to be ſolemnly Denounc'd an *Out-Law*, with the Sound of an Horn. After the Denunciation, Letters of Caption are direct againſt him; ſo that if he be taken, he muſt be put in Priſon; and although he be not, he forfeits his Perſonal, and the Annual Revenues of his Real Eſtate, and becomes altogether ἀπρόσωποι, as *Theophilus*, the *Greek* Civilian, calls *Slaves* and *Minors*, and all that are *Civily Dead*. Hence an *Out-Law* is almoſt in the ſame Condition with us, as *Deportatus in Inſulam*, was among the *Romans*; he is uncapable of all Civil Employment: He hath no *Head* in Law; he can make no Will or Teſtament of his own, nor receive any Benefit by any other Man's. So that our Whigs (like yours, who will be Married by the *Common-Prayer*) chooſe rather to mock GOD, and offend their tender Conſciences ſometimes, than forfeit their Liberty and Eſtates.

I am very well ſatisfy'd in my own Conſcience, that I have done nothing againſt the ſtricteſt Rules of Chriſtian Charity, in diſcovering the impious Principles and Practices of this Sect: I have done it upon the ſame Grounds and Motives, that the Ancient Fathers publiſh'd the wicked Lives and Opinions of the more primitive *Hereticks*; particularly of the *Gnoſticks*, who were the Archetype of our Whigs: And the Parallel in moſt particulars runs ſo exact between them, that I cannot abſtain from comparing them together.

Firſt then, As the *Gnoſticks* were ſo call'd from Ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, or Knowledge, falſly ſo call'd, and boaſted that they were the moſt Knowing; altho' they really were the moſt Ignorant of the Chriſtian Religion, of any Sect in the

World: So our Whigs ſtile themſelves the Knowing Chriſtians, and look upon us who adhere to the Church, but as ignorant, ſilly, formal People, that underſtand not Goſpel Myſteries, but are ſpoil'd after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after *Chriſt*.

Secondly, As the *Gnoſticks* pretended to underſtand the Scriptures better than all other *Chriſtians*; and yet did moſt abſurdly and blaſphemouſly Interpret them, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhew'd in many particulars: So our *Whigs* pretend to this Gift as their own peculiar Talent; and yet Interpret the Word of GOD as abſurdly, to make it comply with their wicked Opinions, as the *Gnoſticks* did to make it Countenance theirs. Mr. *Mitchel*'s Papers are full Proof of this Charge, beſides the Books I mention'd before.

Thirdly, As the *Gnoſticks* ſpoke ὑπερογκα, or mighty high Things of *Simon Magus*, equalling him with GOD; ſo our *Whigs* ſpeak big-ſwelling Words of *Baal-berith*, or the *Solemn League and Covenant*; to which they ridiculouſly Apply, whatſoever is ſaid of the Covenant of Grace, which GOD made with *Abraham*, and of that Political Covenant which he made with the *Jews*, and of the Counterpart of it; which the *Jews*, or any of their Kings made and renew'd with GOD; Baptizing their Children into it, as into the Covenant of the Goſpel, and making it the Cauſe, and Intereſt, and Truth of *Chriſt*.

Fourthly, As the *Gnoſticks* pretended to be *Chriſtians*, and yet in many Things comply'd with the wicked *Jews*, and joined with them in raiſing Perſecution againſt the Church: So our *Whigs* pretend to be the pureſt *Proteſtants* in the World; and yet in many Things are real *Papiſts*, and now joyn moſt Cordially with them to over-throw both our and your Church; which the *Papiſts* acknowledge to be the ſtrongeſt Bulwark againſt themſelves, that are in the Proteſtant World.

Fifthly, As the *Gnoſticks* contumelioufly uſed the Apoſtles and Presbyters of the Primitive Church, hating them with the Malice of *Cain*, and gain-ſaying them among the People after the impudent manner of *Corah*, and oppoſing them as *Jannes* and *Jambres* did *Moſes* and *Aaron*; ſo our *Whigs* treat our Reverend Clergy with all imaginable Contempt and Barbarity; hating our Biſhops with a mortal Hatred, calling their Government an Uſurpation over GOD's Heritage; and rail at his Majeſty, and all other Magiſtrates that ſupport them; Binding and Re-binding themſelves by a Solemn Oath, to Extirpate the Apoſtolical

Function

Function, though in doing of it they should Shed an Ocean of *Proteſtant* Blood.

Sixthly, As the *Gnoſticks* were a fierce, tumultuous and troubleſome People, ſo are the *Whigs*: As they deſpiſed Dominions, and ſpoke evil of Dignities, ſo do the *Whigs*; as they were Murmurers and Complainers, ſo are the *Whigs*; who by their Principles can never be ſatisfy'd with any Conceſſions, nor obliged by any Favours; but muſt Murmur and Complain againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, as long as there's a King, and Biſhops in the Land.

Seventhly, As the *Gnoſticks* Scorn'd and Deſpis'd the Orthodox Chriſtians, and ſeparated from them; calling them Carnal, but themſelves Spiritual Men; and yet were Senſualiſts, Defilers of the Fleſh, and like the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrheans*, given to unnatural Luſts: So our modern Phariſees Scorn us, calling us Carnal, or at the beſt but Moral Men; and while they pretend to be Holier than the People that adhere to the Church, they fall into all ſorts of Impurities to the great Scandal of the Proteſtant Name.

I am not ſo uncharitable as to conclude every individual among our *Whigs* in this comparative Character; for doubtleſs there are many well-meaning People among them; but you muſt underſtand me ſo, as our Saviour is to be underſtood, where he deſcribes the general Hypocriſie of the Phariſees, among whom notwithſtanding were many ſincere and pious Men.

In this ſenſe it was that St. *Paul* charg'd the whole Nation of the *Cretians*, with the Character of one of their old Poets, *That they were Lyers, evil Beaſts, and ſlow Bellies*; and for my own Part, I believe that among the *Gnoſticks* themſelves, there were a conſiderable number that liv'd free from thoſe portentous Sins, with which St. *Jude*, and *Epiphanius* charges the Sect.

POSTSCRIPT.

YOU may Communicate this Letter to as many of your Friends as you pleaſe; but you muſt take Care to conceal my Name, leaſt if it be known, I paſs for an *Enemy to the People of GOD*; and thereupon another *Mitchel* ſend me out of the World for a *Canaanite* or *Egyptian* with a brace of Bullets, or a *Durke*. The Narratives, I humbly conceive, are very profitable to be known; One of them affords an excellent Example of counterfeit Zeal, and the other of Hypocriſie, or *Phariſaiſm*; which from

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the Beginning of Things, hath always been the most powerful Engine, which the *Corahs* of all Ages and Nations have used to draw the Multitude into Faction and Schism. Besides, the Knowledge of these things will move all good Christians to pity the miserable Condition of our Church, and to Pray for Her both to GOD, and the King; and likewise undeceive all ingenuous Spirits, that have had the unhappiness to be Misguided by the false Informations which our Fanaticks send to yours. There is a more strict and mysterious Correspondence betwixt them, than the present Pains, in which I write, will permit me to relate. But in a short time, I shall be able to discover the *Cabala* unto you. In the mean time, let us Love, Honour, and Remember one another with Pleasure and Respect. Let us Pray for the Improvement of our Church, the Preservation of yours, and serve them both in our several Stations, to the utmost of our Power.

P. S. When you write next, Remember that my Title is *Advocate*, and not *Counsellor at Law*; for no one knows here what the latter means.

I Remain

Edinburgh, March the 5*th*, 167$\frac{3}{4}$.

Your most Faithful and Obedient Servant.

FINIS.

THE SECOND LETTER.

SIR,

IN the deepeſt Sorrow, I now tranſmit to You, a Brief Narration of the Fanaticks unparalell'd Villany, which they have at laſt committed, upon the Body of that moſt worthy Prelate, the Archbiſhop of St *Andrews*; for according to *Mitchel*'s Example, who glo-ried at his laſt Breath, in his Helliſh Attempt *Anno* 1668. which, tho' he fail'd of, others of the ſame Spirit were reſolved to finiſh what he had begun, and God to fill up the Meaſure of their Iniquities, ſuffer'd them to accom-pliſh in the following Manner.

His Grace had been aſſiſting at the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*, from whence he went over into *Fife* the 2d of *May* 1679, and lodg'd that Night at a Village between *Burnt Iſland* and St. *Andrews*, about Mid-Night two Men well mounted and arm'd, enquir'd in the Vil-

lage, if the *Arch-biſhop* of St. *Andrews* was not there? And receiving an Anſwer in the Affirmative, immediately rode away.

About 9 the next Morning the *Arch biſhop* took Coach, he had only his Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horſeback to attend him, one of whom he had ſent with a Compliment to a Perſon of Honour, near whoſe Houſe he was to paſs, and purſued his Journey with great Security, till he came to a ſmall Village call'd *Magus*, about two Miles diſtant from St. *Andrews*, between 11 and 12 a Clock in the Forenoon; there he firſt perceiv'd himſelf to be purſu'd by about 12 Horſemen with Piſtols in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms, upon which the Coachman drove as faſt as ſix good Horſes cou'd gallop, they purſuing and firing at the Coach, till at length one of them nam'd *Balfours*, who was the beſt mounted, overtook the Coach, and having wounded the Poſtilion, ſhot one of the foremoſt Horſes, and hamſtring'd the other, and ſo ſtopp'd the Coach.

The reſt of the Murtherers then came up, and one of them fir'd a Piſtol ſo near his Breaſt, that it ſing'd his Gown, then calling him *Dog*, *Apoſtate*, *Betrayer of the Godly*, *Perſecutor of Chriſt's Church*, &c. they bid him come out of his Coach, and receive the Reward of his Wickedneſs againſt the *Kirk* of *Scotland*.

Upon this his Daughter alighting out of the Coach fell upon her Knees, and with Prayers and Tears begg'd her Father's Life, but they threw her down, trampled on her and wounded her, which her tender-hearted Father ſeeing, came out of the Coach, and calmly told them

them, *he did not know he had ever injur'd any of them, if he had, he was ready to make Reparation, beſeeching them to ſpare his Life, and he wou'd never trouble 'em for that Violence; but pray'd 'em to conſider before they brought the Guilt of innocent Blood upon themſelves.*

The Reverence of his Perſon, and his compos'd Carriage, ſurpriz'd the Villains, and one of them relenting, cry'd, *ſpare theſe grey Hairs*, but their hot Zeal conſuming their natural Pity, the others reply'd, *He muſt Die, he muſt die*, calling him *Traiterous Villain*, Judas, *Enemy to God and his People, and telling him he muſt now receive the Reward of his Apoſtacy and Enmity to the People of God.*

He then beg'd time to pray, telling them he wou'd pray for them, but they ſcornfully told him, *they cared not for his Prayers, they were ſure God wou'd not hear ſo baſe a Dog as he was:* Then looking ſtedfaſtly on one of the Aſſaſſins, he kneel'd down to him and ſaid, *Sir, you are a Gentleman, and I muſt beg my laſt Favour from you, that ſince you are reſolv'd I muſt die, you will have Pity upon my poor Child here, and ſpare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your Hand*, and ſtretching out his at the Time, the barbarous Wretch gave him a Blow with a Sabre which almoſt cut it off, and with another Blow wounded him two Inches over the Left Eye and one below it; this Stroke knock'd him down, but getting upon his Knees again, he ſaid, *Gentlemen it is enough, you have done your Work*, and holding up his Hands towards Heaven as well as he could, fervently cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus have Mercy upon my Soul and receive my Spirit*, they ſtill wounding him till he quiet-

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ly laid down his Head upon his Arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all*, and with these Words expir'd, after which they gave him divers Wounds on the Head, some of them to make sure Work stirring his Brains in his Scull with the Points of their Swords.

This barbarous Murther was committed the 3d of *May*; and the 8th the Party here, procur'd an Address from the Commons to the King, to accuse Duke *Lauderdale* as a Promoter of Arbitrary and Destructive Councils, and for contriving and endeavouring to raise Misunderstandings between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, whereby *Hostilities might have ensued, and may arise between both Nations, if not prevented*; and therefore to desire he might be remov'd from his Majesty's Councils, and from all Employments and Places of Trust; which Address being presented, the next Day the King told them, he wou'd consider of it, and return an Answer.

In the mean time this Address was sent after the Speech to *Scotland*, where it found all Things ripe for a Rebellion; the Murther of so Illustrious a Person as the Primate of that Kingdom, and a Privy Councellor in so barbarous a Manner, was not to be smother'd; so that the Fear of a just Punishment, and the Hopes of Assistance from their Friends here, who had begun with Duke *Lauderdale*, the Man in the World most hated and fear'd by them, concurr'd to push 'em forward to an open Rebellion, which perhaps they expected to be as well paid for, as for beginning that against King *Charles* I.

Accord-

Accordingly about fourſcore of them came to *Ragland* the 29th of *May* 1679, where they proclaim'd the Covenant, burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and affix'd a Rebellious Declaration on the Market Croſs, and attempted the like at *Glaſcow*, but were prevented by ſome of the King's Forces there.

On the *Sunday* following they rendevous'd upon *Loudon* Hill, being then 14 or 1500 Men well arm'd in good Order, the Foot commanded by one *Weir*, and the Horſe by *Balfour* and *Hackſton*, two of the Murtherers of the Arch-Biſhop, and by *Robert Hamilton* and one *Patron*. Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, (afterwards Lord *Dundee*,) marched againſt them with a Troop of Horſe and a Company of Dragoons; but after a brisk Engagement, being ſo much overpower'd in Numbers, was obliged to retire. Fluſh'd with this Succeſs, on *Monday* the 2d of *June* the Rebels made two Attacks on the City of *Glaſcow*, in both which they were repuls'd with conſiderable Loſs; but afterwards their Strength encreaſing, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, and iſſu'd their Proclamation, imperiouſly commanding the Magiſtrates to turn out all the *Arch-biſhops, Biſhops and Curates, their Bairns and Servants, and all Families and Perſons concern'd in the King's Army within* 48 *Hours, under the higheſt Pains*. They alſo publiſh'd another Declaration, to demand Redreſs of their pretended Grievances, and invite their Brethren to join them, and committed great Outrages there, and in the Country adjacent.

In the mean Time the Council of *Scotland* were not Idle, but rais'd an Army, which they quarter'd so as to prevent the Approach of the Covenanters to *Edinburgh*, and sent the King Accounts of what pass'd, expecting his Majesty's further Orders.

Upon deliberating this Affair in Council, the King was for suppressing the Rebellion immediately by Forces from hence to be dispatch'd, and joined with those in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all: *Shaftsbury* plainly shew'd at Council and in other Places, that he was unwilling it should be wholly or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise then by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might thereby be introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, and who no doubt would have husbanded it till a better Opportunity; yet on the other side was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a Command, so that Duke was sent down, and on the 22d of *June* fought and routed the Rebels at *Bothwel Bridge*, killing about 500 on the spot, and taking 11 or 1200 Prisoners, by which this Insurrection was crush'd, and the Country reduc'd to Peace and Order.

Edinburgh, *Jan.* 20. 167⅞.

I remain,
Sir, entirely Yours.

BRITISH MUSEUM 14 JU 92

FINIS.